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MEMOIRS

OF

GILBERT MOTIER LA FAYETTE.

By Gen. H. L. VILLAUME DUCOUDRAY HOLSTEIN,

Who contributed, under the fictitious name of Peter Feldmann, to his liberation from the prisons of Olmutz.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH MANUSCRIPT.

NEW-YORK:

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Southern District of New-York. ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the sixth day of September, A. D. 1824, in the forty-ninth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Charles Wiley, of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"Memoirs of Gilbert Motier La Fayette. By Gen. H. L. Villaume Ducoudray Holstein, who contributed, under the fictitious name of Peter Feldmann, to his liberation from the prisons of Olmutz. Translated from the French Manuscript."

In conformity to the act of Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned." And also to an act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

JAMES DILL,
Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

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PREFACE.

I SHOULD never have thought of writing a biography of General La Fayette, had not several of my friends, who were aware of the intimacy which had existed between us, urged me to the task with such earnest solicitations, that I was obliged at last to yield to their request; and this I did the less reluctantly, because I knew that I could furnish particulars, hitherto unknown, that would not fail to interest the friends of La Fayette.

But the time was short, and the General arrived. I was consequently compelled to abridge, and even to omit several chapters entirely, and to pass over a great number of characteristic anecdotes, and many new and interesting details, in order to satisfy the impatience of the public.

In preparing the following work, I have consulted Marshall's Life of Washington, the Histories of the Revolutionary War by Butler, Ramsay, and Mrs. Warren, as well as the Memoirs of the Life of General La Fayette, by Regnault-Warin, 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1824, the History of the Principal Events of the Reign of Frederick II. King of Prussia, by Ségur, 3 vols. Paris, 1800; Historical Memoirs and Authentic Details respecting M. de la Fayette, Paris; France, by Lady Morgan, the Edinburgh Review, the Annual Register, with a variety of other publications.

As my intimate acquaintance with the families of the Olmutz prisoners is of such a nature, that the public may reasonably expect from me much information concerning those gentlemen, not hitherto known, I do not hesitate to declare, that in case the present work shall pass to a second edition, my readers shall be put in possession of a great variety of interesting matter, which has been necessarily omitted in the present. I venture, however, to hope, that the public will not deem unacceptable this short biographical essay, which, at least, contains many curious details, now for the first time made known. It is my earnest entreaty, that the present work be received with kindness and indulgence; and I feel assured that the reader will keep constantly in mind, the difficulty of procuring an immediate and adequate translation, the haste with which the sheets have been hurried through the press, and the great desire of the author, to make the world better acquainted with the merits of a man, who has honoured him with the title of friend, and who is at this instant the object of the universal admiration of a free, generous, and grateful people.

H. L. Villaume Ducoudray Holstein.

New-York, Sept. 4, 1824.

INTRODUCTION.

Remarks on the approaching arrival of General La Fayette, in America.

La Fayette, the philanthropist, the firm, undeviating friend of liberty and the sacred rights of man, the associate and confident of the immortal Washington, is hourly expected, by a people for whom he fearlessly hazarded his life, and generously poured forth his blood.

Millions of freemen from every part of the extensive territory of the United States, are at this moment offering up their ardent prayers for his safe and speedy arrival.

Every wise and virtuous citizen, every friend of true and genuine liberty, will delight to honour this brave, this exemplary man: thousands of journals of every possible description unite to sound his praise, and all do honour to themselves in honouring him.

These unusual preparations, and this enthusiastic unani-

mity, pervading all ranks, and sexes, and ages, awakening the sensibilities of lovely woman, and the eager anticipations of earliest infancy, all impatient to welcome the arrival of a stranger and a foreigner, have filled me with the most delightful emotions, have inspired me with the sincerest admiration, and now compel me to join my feeble voice to the joyful tumult of universal acclamation.

An impartial and almost an unknown observer, but recently a resident in this beautiful and flourishing city, a soldier, who has fought for the rights of man in the old world and the new, I am utterly unable to withhold my admiration of the noble and generous sentiments of regard and love which have urged the American people thus to celebrate the arrival of a hero, of whose esteem and friendship I am, and shall be ever, proud to boast.

The conduct of the American Congress and Executive, of all the general and subordinate authorities, in a word, of the whole American people, presents to an admiring world the noble and extraordinary spectacle, of the simultaneous rising of an immense republic, prepared to greet, to honour, and caress, the illustrious native of a *foreign* soil. Washington himself would scarcely have received a warmer and more splendid welcome.

Facts obvious and undeniable like these, cannot surely fail to win the affections of every foreigner in the country, and to attach him, strongly and for ever, to the government

of a nation which confers its recompense in a manner which does equal honour to the giver and receiver.

How truly enviable will be the emotions of my excellent friend, when his foot first touches the sacred soil of liberty, once the scene of his sacrifices, and the witness of his glory! What delightful moments for his noble and generous heart, when he meets again the few companions of his arms that now, alas! are left to greet him; as they again recall the scenes of other times, when fatigues, and perils, and approaching death, could never for one instant quell the ardour of their zeal to gain that glorious liberty, which became, at last, the well-won recompense of their undaunted heroism. Never can we honour as we ought those illustrious veterans of our glorious Independence, whose lives hold forth to the growing generations of America, perpetual models of noble emulation.

The feelings I have endeavoured to express, are experienced by thousands in common with myself. Such as they are, I give them freely to the world, in the hope that they will be kindly appreciated, and indulgently received.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and early life of La Fayette.

Gilbert Mottié, Marquis De La Fayette, was born at Chateau de Chavagnac, on the sixth of September, 1757. This Chateau is situated at about two leagues distance from Brioude, in what was formerly the province of Auvergne, now the department de la Haute Loire. Among the Marquis's ancestors, Marshal De La Fayette occupies a distinguished place in the annals of military fame, and Madame De La Fayette, a relation of the Marshal, is equally well known in the literary history of France.

The inhabitants of Auvergne are remarkable for their ardent, firm, and energetic character; and have ever been distinguished for their spirit of enterprise, contempt of danger, and love of independence. Of the La Fayettes in particular, the more predominant characteristics have always been great decision and intrepidity of character, combined with an ardent and romantic imagination.

Young Mottié was sent, at seven years of age, to the College of Louis Le Grand, at Paris, where he received his early education. He was afterwards made one of the pages of the Queen of France, and at fifteen was enrolled among the *Mousquetaires du Roi*. Here his mild and equable temper soon gained him the friendship and esteem of all his comrades. Under the Queen's immediate patronage, he rose in a short time to the rank of a commissioned officer, a favour exclusively reserved for the sons of the most distinguished noblemen.

He married, in 1774, the young and interesting Countess Anastasie de Noailles, daughter of the Duke of that name. This marriage, to which he was induced by various considerations of family interest, besides largely augmenting his fortune, made him happy in the possession of an amiable, virtuous, and noble-hearted woman, of whose character and conduct we shall take occasion hereafter to give a more particular account. The Marquis was now in possession of an annual income of upwards of 200,000 francs, a sum which, at that time, was equal to 200,000 American dollars, at the present time.

Although thus surrounded by the temptations of wealth, and by the enjoyments to which it administered, the mind of the young Marquis was perpetually aspiring to greater and nobler enterprises

and his ardent imagination was soon dissatisfied with the luxurious life of the capital and the court.

His attention was accordingly drawn to the movements of the new world, where the attempts of the British colonies of North America to secure their independence excited in his breast a peculiar interest and powerful sympathy. Of these events, which so strongly influenced the destinies of the Marquis, we propose to make a brief enumeration.

CHAPTER II.

Cause of the insurrection of the North American colonies. Commencement of hostilities.

The life of La Fayette is so intimately connected with the events of the revolutionary war of North America, that the discussion of the one necessarily involves the consideration of the other. Notwithstanding the powerful opposition of the mother country, the entire destitution of all resources, and the absolute want of external assistance in the first years of the revolution, the Colonists were enabled, in the short space of seven years, to triumph over a mighty nation, who affected to regard them as rebellious slaves, soon to be reduced to submission and obedience.

What had been happily begun by the patience and perseverance of the first heroes of the revolution, was finally accomplished and secured by the wisdom and virtue of their descendants. The United States of America have, in consequence, enjoyed very near half a century of unexampled prosperity and happiness, and may now justly boast of

being the only people on earth, in the full and undisturbed possession of their political liberties.

As early as the year 1764, the North American colonies began to murmur against the unequal bearing of the stamp act, until England reluctantly repealed it on the 18th of March, 1766. In place of this, however, was substituted an increased duty on tea, and a tax on paper, glass-ware, and paints, the expenses of collections to be borne by the inhabitants. In consequence of these exactions, the discontent of the colonies increased to such an alarming degree, that the British ministry deemed it necessary to resort to compulsory measures, in order to quell their growing disaffection.

Accordingly, on the first of October, 1768, a considerable body of troops entered Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, and at that time the seat of the colonial government. A series of arbitrary and vexatious measures ensued, until the people were driven to the necessity of repelling force by force, determined to suffer all possible extremes, rather than submit to such ignominious oppression.

Such was the good sense, general intelligence, and disinterested patriotism of the Americans, that the authority of the provincial Congress, and of the committees of correspondence, was universally respected, and powerfully supported, in the six months

preparatory to the commencement of hostilities; and each individual cheerfully contributed his proportion towards defraying the expenses of the anticipated war.

On the 19th of April, 1775, Colonel Smith was ordered to proceed secretly and by night, with a detachment of light-armed troops, from Boston to Concord, and on the following day hostilities commenced at Lexington.

Shortly after, the provincial Congress met at Philadelphia, and the events of the war gradually assumed a more regular aspect. Troops were levied in most of the provinces, and Congress unanimously appointed one of the Deputies from Virginia, Commander-in-chief of the provincial forces.

General Washington requires no eulogium of mine. His name alone is sufficient to insure, wherever it is heard, unqualified respect, and unhesitating veneration. Creating, as it were, every thing from nothing, meeting and surmounting innumerable obstacles, after a seven years struggle against an almost overwhelming strength, his eventual triumph far exceeded the expectations of the world, who scarcely dared to anticipate a success, for which they offered up to Heaven their most ardent prayers. Achievements like these could only be surpassed by the closing act of his political career, by which

he sacrificed to the liberties of a nation the power and the influence he had gained in their acquirement.

After long and animated debates, Congress determined, at the motion of Richard Henry Lee, one of the deputies from Virginia, to publish to the world a solemn Declaration of their Independence. This manifesto was accordingly prepared by Thomas Jefferson, another of the Virginia deputies, and signed by John Hancock, the President of Congress, on the fourth of July, 1776.

Twelve states assented unanimously, and almost immediately, to this ever memorable declaration, and the thirteenth shortly after acceeded to the measures of the rest.

CHAPTER III.

Arrival of LA FAYETTE in America; his appointment in the army, and services.*

ENGLAND was now making vast preparations to reduce her colonies to submission by force of arms, and the attention of all Europe was directed to America; it was generally believed, that she could not long resist this overwhelming power. The young Marquis La Fayette, in common with all patriotic and enlightened Frenchmen, was desirous of a reform at home, called for by the imbecility of the government, the weakness of the King, the excesses of the ministry, the general discontent of all classes, the impoverished state of the treasury, and the total disregard of morality and religion. Endowed, both by nature and education, with a love of liberty and philosophy, and inspired with noble sentiments

* Our readers will excuse us for briefly touching on the principal events of the revolution, not immediately connected with the subject of these memoirs. It was thought necessary to preserve in some measure the chain of events unbroken, the better to explain those in which La Fayette was directly concerned. *Editor.*

and a spirit of chivalry, the Marquis La Fayette had watched attentively the progress of the controversy between the American colonies and the mother country, and examined every subject connected with it. This glorious cause attracted universal admiration, and the wishes of all the enlightened and virtuous part of mankind were united in its favour. La Fayette did not confine himself merely to wishes for its success; he was among the first who personally assisted, and shed their blood to promote the establishment of liberty in North America. A general peace throughout Europe had consigned him to inaction, too inglorious for his lofty and warlike spirit. The battles which were now fighting in America opened a path equally brilliant and delightful to his ambitious spirit, which detested British pride and domination. As soon, therefore, as he learned that the colonies were seeking assistance, he presented himself before the American Commissioners, at Paris, and made known to them his resolution of taking part in the contest. Doctor Franklin soon perceived in this young soldier the germ of future greatness, and gladly accepted his offer.

The war was as yet scarcely commenced, when La Fayette had determined to leave his country for America: but shortly after his communication with the Commissioners, it was reported in Europe that

the American army was reduced to two thousand men, and was flying through New-Jersey, before thirty thousand British regular troops. This disastrous information so completely annihilated the small remaining credit which America had in Europe, at the commencement of the year 1777, that the Commissioners of Congress, at Paris, although they had previously encouraged La Fayette's project, could not now procure a single vessel to facilitate his object. They considered, under these circumstances, that honour obliged them to dissuade him from undertaking, for the present, his perilous enterprise. But this was attempted in vain; the zeal with which the American cause had inspired him, could not be suppressed by these reverses. "To this moment," said he to them, with the true impulse of patriotic feeling, "I have done nothing but admire your cause, but now I mean to serve it. The more hopeless it is in the public estimation, the more honour shall I acquire by espousing its interests. Since it is out of your power to procure a vessel, I will purchase and equip one myself; and I take upon myself to be the bearer of your despatches to Congress."

As from this moment he made no secret of his desire to witness the triumph of freedom, whose cause he had embraced, he had to surmount a host of difficulties, before he could put his plan into execution.

The court and ministers were early apprized of his intention, and deputed some of his friends to dissuade him from it; they dexterously insinuated that his Majesty would be highly displeased, should he interfere in an affair of such moment, and that in doing it, he would expose himself to serious difficulties. There were, however, others who entertained nobler sentiments, and who assisted in procuring a fine, fast sailing vessel, and a quantity of military stores, all which he paid for out of his own private funds. But the most trying difficulty was yet to be encountered, which was the separation from his young and amiable wife. How could she be brought to consent, after so short a union, to be divided from him whom she loved as tenderly as he loved her? How could she be prevailed upon to allow him to undertake a voyage so distant and fatiguing? how permit him to expose himself to the inevitable dangers of war, or how consent to a parting, perhaps for ever? In order to avoid her opposition as much as possible, La Fayette adopted the following plan. He requested the few persons who were in the secret, and who were frequently at his house, to preserve silence, unless questioned by Madame La Fayette, and then to say that he was about to proceed to America on a private mission, and would shortly return. The young Marchioness, alarmed at the approaching separa-

tion, was encouraged by her husband, who confirmed what his friends had intimated of his speedy return; and, in order to avoid a scene, which would have been distressing to them both, his departure was concealed from her, until he had actually sailed. It is a fact well known, that orders were publicly issued, to prevent the sailing of the Marquis. But the truth is, that the French government connived at his undertaking. France, during her long and obstinate contest with England, was exhausted, and had concluded a peace, solely for the purpose of renewing the war more effectually, at a future period. As the natural and ancient enemy of England, she saw, with secret satisfaction, that her rival was threatened with the loss of one of the most precious jewels in her diadem; and could not but inwardly rejoice at a rupture which had been gradually increasing, between England and her North American colonies, since 1764.

Doctor Franklin, who had been sent to England by Congress, to endeavour to settle the differences of the colonies, on equitable and honourable conditions, had at the same time received secret instructions in regard to France. He crossed the channel, and was, if not publicly, at least secretly, recognised by the court of Versailles, where his virtues, his wisdom, his amiability, and the important mission with which he was intrusted, gained him the admiration

and respect of the better part of the French nation. He soon discovered the favourable disposition of the minister, Count de Vergennes, who, in the King's name, promised him assistance, but gave him to understand, that the moment for acting openly was not yet arrived; that it was requisite that the Americans should make greater progress in their struggle, before France could declare for them; that such a measure would necessarily lead to a rupture with England, &c. &c.

It was, therefore, in consequence of the position in which France was placed, that the King and his ministers could not *openly* consent that the Marquis La Fayette, who held a post in the royal household, should join the rebels, as they were termed; on the contrary, they were constrained to adopt public measures to deceive the spies of the British cabinet, who, in the machiavelian language of the present age, are styled ambassadors, while in fact his undertaking was secretly favoured, or, at all events, was not opposed.

Whoever is acquainted with the strict police of the old government of France, under Louis XV. and XVI., will readily believe that it was utterly impossible for any individual whatever, and much less for the Marquis La Fayette, to embark secretly, if the government had seriously wished to detain him.

The Marquis La Fayette landed on the 19th of April, 1777, at Charleston, South Carolina, whence he immediately proceeded to Philadelphia, where Congress was then in session, and delivered to them the despatches and letters of recommendation which the American commissioners, residing at Paris, had intrusted to his charge. On presenting himself before this body, he said to them, "I am come to request two favours of this house: the one is to serve in your army in the capacity of a private volunteer; the other, to receive no pay."

Congress, struck with astonishment at such noble sentiments in a young foreigner, who had come recommended in a manner as warm as it was honourable, conferred upon him the brevet rank of Major General in the American army, accompanied by a resolution to the following effect: "Whereas, the Marquis La Fayette, in consequence of his ardent zeal for the cause of liberty in which the United States are engaged, has left his family and friends, and crossed the ocean at his own expense, to offer his services to the said States, without wishing to accept of any pension or pay whatever, and as he earnestly desires to engage in our cause, Congress have resolved,

"That his services be accepted, and that, in consideration of his patriotism, his family, and illustrious relations, he shall hold the rank and commission of Major General in the army of the United States."

La Fayette, thus, at the age of twenty years, risked the loss of a large fortune, left his country, separated himself from his beloved wife, relations, and numberless friends, in a word, every thing which could attach a young man of wealth and noble family to life and to his country. But this country was neither free, nor striving to be free; his life glided along without glory or peril; his elevated and intrepid soul languished in inactivity; he wished to change the scene, and be the fearless and intrepid warrior among the enemies of tyranny, and the support of the cause of liberty, or to perish gloriously in the attempt.

Such was La Fayette at twenty years of age; such will he be found in the course of these memoirs, always faithful, a true Frenchman, a great and generous patriot. He instantly set out to join the army and his commander, who became his father and his friend.

Washington read in his countenance, and observed in his modest confidence, the sure presage of his future success; and he felt, from that moment, the tenderest regard for his welfare, called him his son, and admitted him into his family. General La Fayette would not as yet accept any commission, nor receive any pay; and when Washington urged him to take that rank in the army which Congress had conferred upon him, the young Marquis mo-

destly answered, "that he was not as yet capable of discharging the duties of such a post; that he must begin by being instructed himself, and by learning to obey, before he took upon himself to command." This reply increased the regard of the Commander-in-chief, and the affection of all his comrades.

The young Marquis, on his arrival at the camp, examined every thing with the greatest attention, conversed with and questioned the officers and soldiers, joined in their labours, accepted the frequent invitations he received, and acquired many friends by his mild, frank, easy, and prepossessing manners and generosity.

Washington, who loved him from the first moment of their acquaintance, soon became acquainted with all the amiable actions of his adopted son, and sometimes reproved him for his excessive liberality, though in reality charmed with his noble conduct.

The Marquis did not stop here, for, delighted with the bravery of his new companions in arms, he sent General Moultrie, who was at that time much in want, uniforms and complete equipments for one hundred and fifty of his soldiers.

General Washington, who had been apprized of the expected arrival of Admiral Howe with a fleet and considerable reinforcements from England, was much embarrassed on account of the great delay

in forwarding of ammunitions of every kind, of which his army was in the utmost need.

La Fayette, understanding this, gave Washington 60,000 francs, to procure requisite supplies. Washington, much affected by such generosity, with tears of joy embraced his son. He was thereby enabled to break up his camp and march south, in order to effect a junction with General Greene at New-York.

General Howe, with his fleet of two hundred and fifty ships, now set sail from Staten Island, with the ostensible motive of attacking Boston, in the hope of diverting the continental troops to that quarter, while his real intention was to surprise Philadelphia, and make himself master of the Delaware without loss.

He consequently made use of every means in his power to deceive the vigilance of General Washington, who, not regarding reports which were assiduously circulated, steadily watched the movements of the fleet, which, from contrary winds, was a long time in effecting its object. As soon as he learned that the enemy had entered the Chesapeake, and had effected a landing near the Elk Ferry, he rapidly advanced to cover Philadelphia. Intelligence was instantly despatched to Congress of the enemy's intention. As the British were obliged to cross Elk and Brandywine rivers to reach Philadelphia, the American

General posted himself in such a manner as to cover the capital, and to dispute the passage of Brandywine, near Chad's fort. La Fayette was at this time with him; and on the 11th of September, a general engagement took place at Chad's fort, not far from Brandywine. The battle was obstinate and bloody, and the Americans were at last forced to retreat; but it was by no means so decisive or disastrous as the English pretended. However, this victory augmented the number of partisans of the British throughout all parts of Pennsylvania, which greatly facilitated General Howe's plans. There were a number of officers wounded in this affair; among the rest, General La Fayette.

The brigade, animated by his example, made a vigorous charge on the British, but was repulsed. He tried in vain to rally them again, and to lead them to the charge; and although he had received a ball in the leg, he would not consent to alight from his horse to have his wound dressed. He continued at his post during the whole battle, and distinguished himself by his courage and coolness. He was, after the battle, conveyed to Philadelphia, but was soon obliged to retire for safety to the mountains. The Polish Count Pulaski, the same who carried off King Stanislaus from the midst of his capital, distinguished himself in this engagement, and was promoted by Congress to the rank of

Commander of the Cavalry, and Brigadier General. M. De Coudray, a French officer of high rank and talents, an enthusiast in the cause of liberty, arrived in the United States at this period; he was unfortunately drowned, endeavouring to ford the Schuylkill. The celebrated Kosciusko, a Polish nobleman, arrived soon after; he possessed the friendship of General La Fayette, and was esteemed by all who knew him.

General Washington withdrew to Chester, where he rallied his army, and made preparations to attack the enemy again, but General Howe avoided a battle, and advanced by forced marches towards Philadelphia, where he arrived on the 26th of September. Congress had retired the evening previous to Lancaster, and afterwards removed to Yorktown.

La Fayette, who still served as a volunteer, impatient to be again in the field, would not wait till his wound was healed, but set out to join General Greene in New-Jersey; where, obtaining the command of a body of militia, he, together with Colonel Butler, who had about the same number of a rifle corps under him, advanced to reconnoitre the enemy's position: on their route, they fell in with a detachment, consisting of about 300 English and Hessian regular troops. An action instantly took place, in which the British were totally routed, with a loss of twenty or thirty killed, and a great

number wounded: they were driven quite into their camp. General Greene, speaking of this encounter, said, "The Marquis seemed to search for danger, and was charmed with the behaviour of his men." "I found the riflemen," said La Fayette, in his letter to Washington, "superior even to *their own* high reputation, and the militia above all expectations I could have formed of them."

Washington transmitted to Congress, under his own hand, an account of this victory, and La Fayette was promoted to the command of a division, consisting of 1200 young men, which shortly afterwards was increased to two thousand, the flower of the American army, whom the General formed and disciplined himself. He scarcely allowed himself time necessary for sleep and refreshment, so zealous was he in discharging the duties of his office.

He has declared to me, that he never felt himself so truly happy as when surrounded by his *friends*, meaning those who were under his immediate command, and by whom he was unusually beloved and respected. It was on this occasion, that his liberality had so reduced his funds, that he was obliged to write to France to procure supplies. One day, while he was inspecting the camp, he perceived a man miserably dressed, seated at the foot of a tree, his face covered with his hands, and elbows resting on his knees, so profoundly immersed in deep me-

lancholy, that he did not perceive the approach of the General, who stopped some minutes to observe him, and hearing him sigh, he inquired the cause of his grief, with a tone of voice and sweetness peculiar to himself. The man informed him that he had recently joined the army, and had left a young wife and two little children, who depended entirely on his industry for support, and that the forlorn condition of his family did not allow him a moment's peace. The General inquired his address, and told him not to distress himself, that his family should be provided for—which promise was faithfully kept.

A month after, when his new corps had become a little disciplined, he presented each of the officers of his division with an elegant sword and belt, and clothed, armed and equipped his 2,000 soldiers at his own expense.

The situation of the revolutionary army became every day more critical. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania were dissatisfied, and there existed throughout the states two very formidable parties, the Tories and the Whigs: among the former were to be found a great number of families distinguished by their birth and fortune, who absolutely refused to assist the government, or to join the patriot army. Besides these, the sect called Quakers, who were wealthy, influential men in Pennsylvania, about this period, almost openly declared themselves hos-

tile to the American cause. Their opposition rose to such a height, that Congress was obliged to cause their chief leaders to be arrested and confined; and others were transported to Virginia, lest their pernicious influence might extend itself.

In addition to these political dissensions, were the partial defeats which the patriots experienced, the loss of the capital, the delay in the recruiting of the regular army, the difficulties in obtaining ammunition, which proceeded, in a great degree, from a spirit of monopoly and avarice, which had, unfortunately, already begun to show itself in America. All these causes united, were highly detrimental to the operations of Congress and the army.

On the other hand, Great Britain possessed powerful resources; her government, army, and partisans, had every reason to flatter themselves that the war would be speedily terminated in their favour. The English were masters of the capital. General Clinton was at the head of an army at New-York; and General Vaughan, stationed on the banks of the North river, had troops under his command, sufficient to keep quiet the inhabitants of both sides of the river, as well as those in the adjacent country. A strong detachment of the British occupied Newport. Colonel Losbourg, with a brigade of Hessians, who kept up a chain of communication with the latter place, overran the neighbourhood, pillaging

and burning without mercy the villages in Rhode Island.

Notwithstanding the very precarious and forlorn aspect of the American cause, neither Congress nor the states were intimidated. General Washington and his gallant army, now considerably diminished in numbers, still kept the enemy so completely in check, that it became impossible for them to undertake any thing decisive, up to the period of going into winter quarters. A few days after the occupation of Philadelphia, the Americans, who had been reinforced by 2,500 men, attacked the Royalists in their camp, at Germantown, six miles from Philadelphia, where all the principal corps of the enemy were assembled.

The attack was unexpected, and the movements rapid; the whole was conducted with courage and energy, but the enemy defended themselves bravely, and the combat was long and obstinately contested. For some time the Americans had the advantage, but were ultimately forced to retire, after leaving a great number dead on the field, and among the rest their commander, General Nash.

General Howe, aware of the importance of a water communication, endeavoured to open the passage of the Delaware down to its mouth, in order to receive supplies by this means. But the Americans defeated his object, by two rows of chevaux de

frise, and galleys, and fire ships, which they maintained upon the river, and also by fortified posts erected along its banks. Among these *Red Bank* was the most important. It was here that the Americans had an opportunity of revenging themselves for the repulse at Germantown.

Colonel Donop crossed the Delaware at the head of 1,500 Hessians, and marched to the attack of the redoubts at Red Bank. General Greene, of Rhode Island, who defended them, refused to surrender. An attempt to carry them by storm was made by the Hessians, but they were repulsed with immense loss; Colonel Donop himself being mortally wounded and made prisoner, together with many other officers of his corps; the rest fled precipitately, and only escaped under cover of the night. Red Bank was the key of all the other posts on the river; and its preservation was owing to the bravery and coolness of General Greene, and the men under his command, who received great credit for their conduct. Congress expressed their approbation of their gallant behaviour, and presented General Greene with a very elegant sword.

After the affair at Red Bank, Washington would never risk an engagement with an enemy who was, in numbers and discipline, greatly his superior. The English General again attempted to carry into execution his plan of opening the passage of the Delaware, and directed an attack to be made on the

fortified post of Mud-Island, which the Americans were compelled to abandon, after having exposed themselves to almost utter extermination from the heavy cannonade of several British ships. The garrison set fire to every thing they conceived might prove useful to the enemy, and retired.

In the sanguinary and obstinate conflicts to which the attempt to open the Delaware gave rise, the English lost two ships of the line; but the loss on the part of the Americans was much more considerable.

The navigation of the Delaware was at length opened, and the English took up their winter quarters at Philadelphia, where they received their supplies by water.

General Howe, after endeavouring to force the Americans to give battle, suddenly returned to Philadelphia, without accomplishing any thing of importance.

The result of this campaign, which had cost so much blood and treasure, amounted only to the possession of a city, abandoned by the greater part of its inhabitants, and the submission of the country for twenty miles round.

The English, who had flattered themselves that they could easily accomplish the destruction of General Washington and his army, were astonished when informed of the little success which attended

all their united efforts, both by sea and land. What an ignominious lesson for those haughty islanders, who designated the Commander-in-chief by the title of Mr. Washington,* and termed all the Americans *insurgents* and *rebels*, to find themselves compelled to allow this same Mr. Washington and his handful of *rebels*, to encamp themselves at the short distance of twenty-five miles from Philadelphia, at a place called Valley Forge, and this, in the course of December of the same year. When we consider that the feeble army of the Americans was very ill provided with tents, that it was destitute of provisions, that the greater part of the soldiers were barefooted, had neither blankets, nor even uniform or clothing, we are astonished to find that such an army took up its winter quarters in log houses, and that it should have remained there throughout the winter, despising dangers, fatigues, privations, and miseries of every kind. But our surprise is increased, when we remember that in this manner it approached an enemy far superior in number, and supplied with ammunition of every sort.

Indeed, it was absolutely necessary for Generals Washington and La Fayette, as well as all the other

* Admiral Lord Howe and his brother Sir William, shortly after their junction at Sandy Hook, (July, 1777,) despatched two letters, one after the other, addressed to George Washington, *Esquire*, which were very properly returned unopened.

American officers, to maintain at least the appearance of cheerfulness. They accordingly mixed in all the pastimes of the army, and made every sacrifice imaginable, in order to amuse the soldiers. General La Fayette, at his own expense, caused a large quantity of articles to be bought, of which the army stood in need. General Washington, for the purpose of enlivening the camp, invited his lady to come and take part in their festivities; the rest of the officers did the same; so that in a short time the interior of the American camp exhibited a scene where joy and gayety buried all past and present sufferings in oblivion. These patriotic women encouraged their husbands and lovers in their noble enterprise, and exerted themselves to the utmost to conceal from them the uneasiness and grief, which their approaching separation, and the dangers which awaited them, excited, in order that sorrow should not overcloud this transient enjoyment of their society. Indeed, the citizens of the ancient republics of Rome and Greece could not surpass, in courage, love of country, resignation, and the sublimer virtues, these new heroes of the American republic.

The resignation and patience of this little army surmounted every difficulty. In the midst of penury, hunger, and extreme cold, it patiently waited for supplies, which arrived but very slowly, notwithstanding all the exertions made by the authori-

ties of the states. The commissary department was so badly managed, and want of horses and carriages was so great, that the soldiers constructed little wagons which they could manage themselves, while others carried fuel and provisions on their shoulders.

General Washington informed the commissioners deputed by Congress to wait upon him, and to examine personally the situation of the army, that several brigades had been for days without meat, and that the soldiers had frequently come themselves to his quarters to acquaint him with their wants; that at one period the last ration in the commissary's possession had been delivered and consumed; and that, not possessing materials proper to raise the barracks from the earth, the damp which struck through their straw beds, and the foul air they breathed, was occasioning excessive mortality among the soldiers. Nothing, indeed, observed one of the commissioners to Congress, could exceed their sufferings, except the patience with which the army supported them.

Although the American army continued in this wretched condition from December till May, the enemy never made a single attack upon them in all that time.

It required all the energy of soul and high and noble qualities, which at all times distinguished Washing-

ton, to support him under these accumulated difficulties; besides which, he had to contend with secret enemies, who either feared or envied him. The apparent indifference with which he regarded these intrigues, enabled him to triumph over them; and they and their supporters have long since sunk into merited oblivion. His moderation towards the disaffected inhabitants, for which he was then blamed by the other party, brought over a vast number to his side. Admiration of his virtues won many, who rendered him great services. It was at such moments of difficulty and danger, that he would unbosom himself to his beloved La Fayette, from whom he kept no secrets.

Many leading men expressed fears, that Washington, after he had freed America from English fetters, would become its enslaver in his own person; and his authority was limited in consequence of these unworthy suspicions. La Fayette was very active, and used every means in his power to allay them. His own calmness and disinterestedness, and his acknowledged worth, gave him much influence over the persons who entertained such sentiments, and his exertions contributed greatly towards the re-establishment of affairs, which were beginning to suffer from disunion and jealousies.

The vast frontiers of the north were guarded by only 1,000 men, who were, in no respect, a match

for the regulars and militia of the enemy, to say nothing of the savages, those faithful allies of civilized England. On the other hand, Washington's army was much reduced, and the greater part were still sick; and, with such forces, he had to oppose 18,000 soldiers, fully armed and equipped, under the command of an experienced leader. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, he had chosen so commanding a position, that the enemy never ventured to attack him in his winter quarters at Valley Forge.

CHAPTER IV.

Campaign of 1778.—Departure of General La Fayette for France.—His return to the United States.

In describing the events of the revolutionary war, we shall principally confine ourselves to those in which General La Fayette was actively concerned; the rest we consider as the province of the general historian.

In the beginning of the campaign of 1778, La Fayette was sent by General Washington to Albany, where an army was collecting, for the purpose of attempting the conquest of the Canadas. The plan of the contemplated enterprise, originally suggested by La Fayette himself, was to pass the lakes on the ice, and to seize on Montreal and St. Jean. The obstacles appearing almost insurmountable, he proposed a variety of expedients, calculated to overcome them; but, on his arrival at Albany, he found neither the number of men, provisions, nor ammunition, which he had expected. The dilatory movements of the agents of this operation defeated its success, for a thaw supervened; and La Fayette,

though but twenty years of age, possessed sufficient self-control to withstand temptations so flattering to a young and gallant officer, in the dangerous possession of independent command. The rectitude of his principles, and the soundness of his judgment, would not allow him to be carried away by the love of glory, under circumstances in which a blind precipitation would have materially injured the cause he had so zealously espoused. He was fully aware, that if he advanced, the army under his command would be exposed to a hazard, similar to that which resulted in the capture of General Burgoyne; and, accordingly, with all the wisdom and discretion of an experienced veteran, he abandoned the expedition; and, very soon after, received the thanks of Congress, who acknowledged the prudence and propriety of his conduct.

About this time, France received the news of the capitulation of the entire army of General Burgoyne, to General Gates, at Saratoga, on the 17th of October, 1777. She now was induced to conceive very sanguine hopes of the ultimate success of the American revolution, and deemed it expedient to espouse and assist the cause of the young Republic. In conformity with these views, a treaty of alliance, amity, and commerce, was concluded at Paris, on the 6th of February, 1778, between the French Minister, Count de Vergennes, on the part

of France, and Dr. Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane, on the part of the United States. These three commissioners were then immediately presented to the King of France, and Dr. Franklin was accredited as Minister plenipotentiary of the United States to the court of France.

La Fayette, in his letter to his friends in France, had constantly given very favourable accounts of the progress of the American cause; and these had always an obvious influence on the proceedings of the French court, contributing, in no small degree, to bring about a conclusion of this negotiation, which had now been pending since December, 1776. He was among the first who received the news of the treaty, and could not deny himself the pleasure of being the personal bearer of this agreeable intelligence to the Commander-in-chief. As soon as it became generally known throughout the camp, the most lively demonstrations of joy ensued; and our young hero was surrounded by crowds, unable to express the affectionate regard with which his conduct had inspired them. General Washington assembled the brigades, and public thanksgivings were everywhere offered up to Heaven, in discourses adapted to the occasion. The camp resounded with the joyful discharge of cannon, and at a signal given, the whole army cried out at once, Long live the King of France! In the ardour of

their joy, every effort was now made by the people to bring in their respective quotas, and to supply the army with the requisite necessaries. The conduct of the state of Pennsylvania, on this occasion, deserves particular commendation.

A subscription was set on foot in Philadelphia, by which a large sum of money was collected, and reserved as a fund for the encouragement of the recruiting service, and designed, at the same time, to reward such as should distinguish themselves in their efforts to fill up the numbers of the army.

A society was also formed, which collected, by subscription, a stock of 189,000 pounds sterling, for the purpose of provisioning the army. The patriotism of the ladies of Philadelphia was particularly remarkable on this occasion. They established themselves into contribution societies; an arrangement which was soon imitated by the rest of the state, and upwards of 150,000 dollars were thus collected, and forwarded to the army. Many of them contributed their most valuable jewels, to assist in supplying the wants of the troops; and I am confident, that their highly laudable example will not be lost on the patriotic females of our own day, whenever the occasion may present itself. I cannot omit to mention the heroic conduct of Emelia Geiger, a young lady, who voluntarily offered to General Greene to be the bearer of his order to Gene-

ral Sumpter, requiring that officer to join him immediately, for the purpose of attacking Lord Rawdon, who had just effected a division of his forces. Her proposal was accepted, and she had actually travelled from Ninety Six to the borders of the Wateree, when she unfortunately fell in with a party of English troops. She had first, however, sufficient time and presence of mind, to swallow the note which General Greene had written to General Sumpter; and as, upon examination, nothing suspicious was discovered, she was allowed to proceed. She finally reached in safety the quarters of General Sumpter, to whom she communicated the order, having taken the precaution to require from General Greene, verbally, the substance of the note.

In May, 1778, General Howe was succeeded in the command of the British army by General Clinton, who gave, on the 18th of the month, a brilliant entertainment, which lasted twelve hours.

General Washington, made acquainted with this fact, issued his orders to La Fayette to proceed from his head quarters, at Valley Forge, with a view to annoy the enemy, then in Philadelphia. At the head of 2,500 men, he accordingly crossed the Schuylkill, and occupied a position twelve miles in advance of the American camp, on Beacon Hill, where he passed the night, in order to observe the enemy's movements, and take advantage of any favourable oppor-

tunity that might present itself. As soon as General Clinton was informed of this movement, he despatched, on the night of the 19th, General Grant, with 3,000 men, and several field pieces, with instructions to surprise the Marquis, and, if possible, to cut off his retreat. The English General, by a circuitous route, took a position about two miles in the rear of La Fayette, and, at the same time, a numerous body of troops was ordered to advance from Philadelphia, to attack him in front. General Grant, having now effected his encampment, considered his success as certain; and neglecting previously to secure Matron Fort, a post situated on the Schuylkill, he advanced rapidly and boldly to attack the American army. But La Fayette, aware of his design, filed off his detachment with so much order and despatch, as to gain Matron Fort, about a mile distant; and passed the river before the enemy could reach him. This retreat, which would have done honour to a far more experienced general, frustrated the intentions of the enemy, and saved the detachment from inevitable defeat. As the loss of this army would have had a very pernicious influence on the American cause, General Washington was highly gratified with the address and management of La Fayette, and received him with every demonstration of satisfaction.

On the fourth of June, the Earl of Carlisle, Mr.

Eden, and Governor Johnstone, arrived from England, with authority, as the king's commissioners, to negotiate a peace between Great Britain and America. The well known Dr. Ferguson was the secretary of this commission. The overtures of England were rejected, on the 17th of June, by the American Congress, who exhibited, throughout the whole progress of these negotiations, the utmost dignity, courage, and decision.

The English ministerial despatches contained several offensive insinuations respecting the intentions and policy of France, which not only met with the pointed disapprobation of the American people, but exasperated the young Marquis to such a degree, that as soon as he heard of them, he conceived himself bound in honour to call Lord Carlisle, the President of the Board of Commissioners, to a personal rencontre, and left to him the choice of arms.

This procedure, which on any other occasion, would have been regarded as the bravado of an indiscreet young man, was not altogether without its use. The Americans were not yet well acquainted with the character of the French; they had been habituated, by the prejudices of education, to look upon them as men much inferior to the English, in personal courage; and it was well enough to show that a Frenchman was not at all afraid to meet an Englishman on equal terms. It contribu-

ted, also, to diminish, in some sort, the importance of the commissioners in the eyes of the common people, and give them a higher idea of the prowess and attachment of their new allies. The Marquis was always, and deserved to be, a favourite with the Americans; they never forgot, that at a time when the powers of Europe refused to furnish them any assistance whatever, La Fayette had left his native country and his amiable wife, to encounter, in their defence, hazard and hardships innumerable. The readiness he now exhibited to expose his life in every shape, served greatly to increase his popularity; and the coolest and most circumspect, saw nothing in his conduct but the natural ardour of a young soldier, impatient to gain a name in arms, and desirous of repelling and revenging an insult wantonly offered to his country.

The irregularity of the procedure was, however, sufficiently obvious, and it was agreed that Lord Carlisle could not, as commissioner, accept the challenge, although it was acknowledged that the Marquis was called upon to send it. It was accordingly refused; and this was all that was expected, or all that was required.

As information had been received, that France would shortly send a body of auxiliary forces to America, the English commissioners, fearful of the event, despatched Mr. Eden, with instructions

to General Clinton to evacuate Philadelphia forthwith, with all his troops, and to fall back to New-York without a moment's delay. *

The British army accordingly evacuated Philadelphia, passed the Delaware, and proceeded through the state of New-Jersey. Having ascertained the intentions of the enemy, General Washington ordered the brigade of General Maxwell to co-operate with the New-Jersey militia; at the same time, however, to allow the main body of the army to attack the enemy in the rear. The English, encumbered with baggage wagons and an enormous train of artillery, and annoyed by the skirmishers of Maxwell, were considerably retarded in their march. The American troops then passed the Delaware to await the arrival of the enemy, and 600 men were despatched to reinforce Maxwell's brigade. Washington halted in the neighbourhood of Princeton, and demanded in writing the opinions of his general officers, as to the expediency of hazarding an engagement. The majority were against it, but thought it advisable to send a detachment of 1,500 men, to harass the rear guard and left wing of the enemy, and in other respects act according to cir-

* Shortly after the ratification of the treaty of alliance, France sent to America a squadron under the command of Count d'Estaing, which left Toulon on the 13th of April, 1718, and arrived at the mouth of the Delaware, on the 8th of July ensuing.

cumstances. In conformity with this opinion, General Scott was put at the head of the detachment. When General Clinton had arrived at Allentown, he determined to abandon the direct route across Staten Island, and to pursue the sea shore to Sandy Hook. As soon as Washington was informed that the enemy, in prosecution of this plan, were advancing toward Monmouth Court-house, he put 1,000 men under the command of General Wayne, and, on the refusal of General Lee, he ordered La Fayette to accompany the detachment, and to take the command of all troops despatched on particular services, with instructions to watch a favourable opportunity to fall upon the enemy's rear guard. The main body of the army followed to support him, and reached Cranberry the next morning, where its progress was arrested by a violent storm, which continued all that day. La Fayette was, in consequence of this, ordered to suspend the pursuit, and to proceed in another direction to Englishtown, which was accordingly done on the next day, (the 27th.)

This change in the order of the march of the American army, produced a corresponding alteration in the movements of General Clinton, who immediately suspected the enemy's design. His rear guard consisted of grenadiers and light infantry, all the baggage being disposed of in the centre, and his entire army constituting, by this arrangement,

an enormous column of twelve miles in extent; so that the Marquis was under the necessity of reinforcing his advanced guard.

General Lee, who now regretted his previous refusal to take the command of the advanced guard, and apprehensive that his character might suffer considerably in consequence, entreated General Washington still to confide it to his charge; a request which he at first refused, and accompanied his reply with well-merited reproaches. Not long after, however, he was prevailed upon to allow him two brigades, with orders to join the Marquis; and as General Lee was the senior officer, he again possessed the entire command of the advanced guard, General Washington advancing at the same time to support him.

The enemy's left wing was very much annoyed by Morgan's troops, and the right by the New-Jersey militia, under the command of General Dickinson; but the centre, under the orders of General Clinton, had been strongly intrenched, since the 27th, not far from Monmouth Court-house. Washington, who was desirous of attacking the enemy before they reached the heights of Middletown, about twelve miles distant, ordered General Lee to be ready for action at the earliest notice.

At daybreak on the 28th of the month, General Kniphausen, with the advanced guard of the

British army, took up his line of march; the baggage wagons followed next in order; and about eight hours afterwards, General Clinton moved forward with the main corps, the select troops bringing up the rear.

At one o'clock in the morning, General Washington issued orders to Lee, to commence the attack; and made a corresponding disposition of the forces under Dickinson and Morgan. A similar arrangement was made with Scott and Varnum's brigades, under the command of General Granger. At daybreak, the troops were all in motion, and at about six o'clock, were on their march to Monmouth. The Commander-in-chief was preparing to follow them, when he received information, that the advanced guard of the enemy was retreating. Washington immediately despatched a second order to General Lee, to accelerate his march, and to commence the attack forthwith, *unless he were prevented by very serious difficulties;* and informed him, that he was advancing with the main body of the army to support him, the baggage being left in the rear. But, in consequence of the conduct of General Lee, the attack was but partial, and the plans of the Commander-in-chief were in a great measure defeated. So much was Lee's behaviour disapproved of, that a court martial was called, and he was deprived of his command.

In the mean time, General Clinton, by forced

marches, at last reached Sandy Hook, where, on the 5th of July, he found Lord Howe's fleet in readiness. He here embarked his army, and proceeded to New-York, having lost in the affair at Monmouth between four and five hundred men, while the loss of the Americans amounted to hardly half that number. La Fayette acquitted himself with his accustomed bravery, and it was the general opinion, that if he had retained the command which he was obliged to resign to General Lee, the result would have proved far more disastrous to the English army.

The extreme heat of the weather rendered the pursuit by forced marches across a sandy soil, absolutely impracticable. General Washington deemed it sufficient to send several detachments of light armed troops to reconnoitre the movements of the enemy, and proceeded with the rest of the army towards the North River.

On the 8th of July, Count d'Estaing, arrived at the mouth of the Delaware, from Toulon, with a fleet consisting of twelve ships of the line, three frigates, several brigs, schooners, &c. He, however, sailed away again after having set on shore the French minister, Mr. Gerard, who was received by Congress with every mark of respect. The French Admiral then set sail for Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 11th, and commenced the blockade of Lord

Howe's squadron, making every possible effort to attack it to advantage.

For this purpose, he made repeated attempts to enter the harbour; but all to no purpose, as his vessels were unable to get over the bar. On the 22d of July, he set sail for Newport, in consequence of a request from General Washington, that he should assist the operations of Generals Greene and Sullivan. These operations were directed against that division of the English army, which had kept its ground in Rhode Island, ever since December, 1776.

Washington, in the mean time, was still in New-Jersey, and sent La Fayette, with 2,000 men to strengthen General Sullivan, and to co-operate with him in the reduction of Rhode Island; while General Greene was directed to proceed towards Providence and Tiverton, to attack the English army, then stationed at Newport, 6,000 strong, under the command of General Pigot.

On the 8th of August, Count d'Estaing entered the harbour with all his squadron, having heard that the English General, on the 5th, had ordered four frigates, and several smaller vessels of war, then lying at anchor, to be destroyed, to prevent their falling into his hands.

On the morning of the 9th, General Sullivan embarked with his entire army at Tiverton; and sailed for Rhode Island, having been informed that the enemy had evacuated the fortifications situated at

the northern extremity of the island. The same day Lord Howe made his appearance, not far from point Judith, with a squadron consisting of 25 vessels of war.

As soon as d'Estaing was informed of this, he left Newport with a determination to bring him to action. Shortly after the two fleets came in sight of each other a storm arose, and did so much damage to several vessels of both squadrons, that they were considered unfit for action. The French fleet was obliged to sail for the nearest port, and on the 22d bent its course towards Boston, there to undergo the necessary repairs. Previous to this, however, Generals La Fayette and Greene went on board of the Admiral's ship, the Languedoc, to entreat him to prosecute his attack, and to support them in their ulterior operations. The principal officers were violently opposed to this measure, and reminded him that his orders were to proceed to Boston, in case of any disaster. The Admiral not having sufficient firmness to resist this appeal, yielded to their representations, and set sail for Boston. Generals La Fayette and Greene returned, very much dissatisfied with the result of their mission, which excited loud disapprobation on the part of the American officers. A formal protest was drawn up against the conduct of the French Admiral, in which his abandonment of the Rhode-Island expedition was spoken of as highly derogatory to the honour of France.

General Sullivan, destitute of provisions, abandoned by a great part of his volunteers, and deprived of the protection of a naval force, found himself under the necessity of evacuating Rhode Island. He took his measures accordingly: on the 26th he embarked his artillery, and evacuated his intrenchments on the 28th. On that day a council of war was held, in which it was resolved to retire to the northern extremity of the island, keeping free the communication with the main land, and to occupy this position until it should be ascertained, whether or not the French fleet would return to support them. The Marquis de La Fayette was advised to repair to Boston, to solicit the speedy return of the squadron. He immediately mounted his horse, and such was his zeal and diligence, that he rode from Rhode Island to Boston, a distance of 70 miles, in 7 hours, called on the Count, and left no means untried to induce him to return immediately. The French Admiral, after a long conference with the Marquis, and the officers of his squadron, who absolutely refused to depart from their original resolution, was obliged, a second time, to the great mortification of La Fayette, to give a negative answer to this just and reasonable request. He offered him, however, such land forces as he had on board, to co-operate with the American army against Rhode Island.

In the mean time, General Sullivan had effected

his retreat towards the north of the island, and was closely pursued by two large detachments of the enemy's troops. Colonel Henry B. Livingston, and John Laurens, Washington's Aide de Camp, were ordered to cover the retreat. This they effected, with so much bravery and skill, that, in conjunction with some reinforcements, they turned the attack upon the English, and routed them, with a loss of between two and three hundred men.

Lord Howe's fleet, with General Clinton and 4,000 men on board, now appearing on the coast, General Sullivan came to the determination of evacuating Rhode Island. As the sentinels of the two armies were not more than 400 yards distant from each other, the greatest possible caution was necessary, in order to effect a successful retreat. This commenced on the night of the 30th August.

Towards midnight, La Fayette arrived from Boston, having been but six hours and a half on the way, eager, as he said himself, to share the honours of the battle; and nothing could exceed his disappointment and chagrin, when he found that the engagement had taken place on the evening before his arrival.

His presence had a favourable influence on the spirits of the army. He immediately took the command of the rear, and exerted himself to animate the troops, who were destined to cover the retreat.

This was accomplished with so much coolness, courage and address, that not a single man was lost. By this success, he obtained the thanks of Congress, expressed through the medium of the President; and the details of this masterly retreat were recorded at large in the public registers. The resolution of Congress was to this effect:

"*Resolved*, that the President be requested to inform the Marquis de La Fayette that Congress have of proper sense of the sacrifice he made of his personal feelings, in repairing to Boston to promote the interest of the States, at a time, when he momentarily expected an opportunity of distinguishing himself in the field; and that the bravery whic he displayed on his return to Rhode-Island, when the greater part of the army had already effected its retreat, together with the ability with which he withdrew the picquets and advanced posts, merits the unqualified approbation of this Assembly."

This resolution was accompanied by the following letter from Mr. Henry Laurens, President of the Congress, to the Marquis de La Fayette, Major General in the United States army:

"*Philadelphia*, 13*th Oct.* 1778.

"Sir,

"I feel a peculiar pleasure in fulfilling the instructions implied by a resolution of Congress, passed on the 9th inst. and herewith enclosed, expressing the

sentiments of the Representatives of the United States, with regard to your conduct during the recent expedition, undertaken against Rhode Island.

"You will but render, sir, an act of justice to Congress, by regarding this testimonial as a tribute of respect and gratitude, offered by a free people to one who has rendered them essential services. I have the honour," &c.

The following is the Marquis's reply:

"*Head Quarters, 23d Sept.* 1778.

"SIR,

"I have this instant received the letter which you did me the favour to write, under date of the 13th instant, in which you inform me of the honour which Congress has deemed fit to confer on me, by its very flattering resolution. Proud as I am of such distinguishing approbation, I am not the less grateful to find that my efforts have been, in a measure, regarded as useful to a cause, in which I have taken so deep and so lively an interest. Be pleased, sir, to present to Congress my unfeigned and heartfelt thanks, accompanied with the assurances of my sincere attachment, the only homage which is worthy of being offered to the representatives of a free people.

"From the moment I first heard the name of America, I began to love her; from the moment I understood that she was struggling for her liberties, I

burned to shed my best blood in her glorious cause ; and the days I shall devote to the service of America, wherever and whenever it may be, will constitute the happiest of my life. Yet I never so ardently desired, as I do now, to deserve the generous sentiments with which these States and their representatives have honoured me : and the flattering confidence which they have so freely reposed in me, has filled my breast with the most lively gratitude, and the most lasting affection."

After the failure of the Rhode-Island expedition, nothing remarkable occurred during the remainder of the campaign of 1778, in which La Fayette was immediately concerned. But, about this time, he received letters from France, informing him of the sensation that had been produced in England, by the news of the French treaty, and the knowledge of the services rendered by the French Marquis to the American cause; and adding, that it was the general impression, that a war would shortly break out between England and France.

La Fayette, the *French* La Fayette, did not hesitate an instant. His country required his services, and the obligations of the French Officer were higher and stronger than those of the American General. He resolved, however, to unite with the performance of his duty the execution of a plan, which he now

submitted to his friend and General, the illustrious Washington.

He had been exceedingly vexed with the absolute and explicit refusal, on the part of Count d'Estaing and his officers, to assist the Americans in the Rhode-Island expedition, which, as we have seen, failed only in consequence of their pertinacity. He had frequently expressed it as his decided opinion to his friend, that unless France should send vessels of war and troops, in sufficient numbers, and put them under the immediate control of the American Commander-in-chief, the benefits of her alliance must necessarily be partial and insignificant; for, every French officer might allege, with Count d'Estaing, the secret orders of his sovereign, as a pretext to avoid the performance of a dangerous or disagreeable service. General Washington, though of a disposition too modest to be absolutely of his opinion, opposed to his remarks but very few and feeble objections, from which the Marquis easily inferred, that the General's sentiments coincided with his own. He accordingly wrote to such of his friends as possessed much influence in the ministry, that if they were really desirous of aiding the American cause, it was necessary to furnish larger supplies, and submit them to the wisdom and control of the American General, whose character he then portrayed,

in language at once honourable to the ardour of his friendship, and just to the merit of his friend.

General La Fayette left Washington's quarters in October, 1778, and repaired to Philadelphia, where Congress were then in session.

In consequence of the unlimited permission granted by Congress, he left America towards the end of the year 1778; retaining the rank and title of Major General of the American army, with an undiminished attachment to the cause, and the most lively sensations of gratitude, for the very honourable manner in which he had been every where received.

He carried away with him the regrets of every virtuous citizen, mingled with the pleasing hope, that his departure would not be without its use to his country and America. What an extraordinary situation for a young man but twenty-two years of age! Connecting, as it were, the interests of the two hemispheres by his courage, his ardent and uncommon zeal, his devoted attachment to the cause of liberty; this young hero succeeded in rendering very signal services to each of his countries, without neglecting his obligations to either. His enthusiastic love of liberty, his cheerful and disinterested abandonment of a large share of his fortune, the frequent and fearless exposure of his life, the blood which he had shed in the field of battle, his strong conviction that he was serving his country, in thus devoting himself to the cause of the States; every thing, in short, was so

extraordinary in this young warrior, that from the moment he arrived at Havre, he was feasted and caressed by his fellow citizens with such demonstrations of regard, as few indeed can boast of having received. This enthusiastic excitement, and just admiration of the young Marquis's virtues, affected all parties, and even extended to the frigid and ceremonious frequenters of the court.

The young Queen, Marie Antoinette, no less celebrated for her misfortunes than for her beauty, vivacity, and wit, was one of his most ardent admirers. With a mind exquisitely susceptible of the impression of generous and exalted sentiments, she had ever admired, in the youthful La Fayette, his lofty devotion, and chivalric spirit.

The envy of fanaticism will never deprive the memory of an unjustly calumniated, and barbarously murdered princess, of the honour which belongs to conduct and qualities like these. She became his most zealous protectress, and in the private audiences which she frequently granted him, she often took occasion to inquire into the character of General Washington. La Fayette, on this subject, could scarcely command himself, and spoke with an eloquence so ardent and so earnest, that the Queen, and all who were present at the interview, were unable to resist the contagion of his enthusiasm.

As soon as she saw Dr. Franklin, then Minister

plenipotentiary, she could not help exclaiming, with all that gentle affability for which she was remarkable, "Do you know, Doctor, that La Fayette has really made me in love with your General Washington? What a man he must be, and what a friend he possesses in the Marquis!"

The King, the ministry, and the whole court, received him with no less cordiality; and he was particularly admitted to long and frequent conferences with the Count de Vergennes, a statesman of great intelligence and talent, who was then at the head of affairs, and in whom the King reposed the most unbounded confidence. In the course of these conferences, La Fayette addressed the Minister with all that frankness which distinguished every action of his life, and undertook to prove the necessity of aiding the Americans by more liberal supplies, and larger forces both by land and sea; insisting particularly on the propriety of submitting the disposition of these forces entirely to the direction of the American Congress, or the Commander-in-chief. He at last succeeded in convincing the Minister, and, through his representations, the King; being powerfully seconded in all these conferences by the ci-devant Minister of France in Philadelphia, and by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, his successor. Orders were accordingly issued, to equip a new squad-

ron, and to put on board a more numerous body of troops.

In the mean time, Congress, by a resolution passthe 21st of October, 1778, had authorized Dr. Franklin to present to our hero a sword, superbly ornamented with appropriate allegorical devices.

Immediately upon its being known that the King had approved of the design of sending an additional body of troops to America, almost the whole of the French nobility exhibited the most ardent desire to follow the example of their young compatriot; and the enthusiasm to go to the new world and defend the cause of struggling liberty, rose to such a height, that a permission to enter the American service, under the command of General Washington, became the object of the most eager intrigue, and was regarded as a special and distinguished favour. So great was the number of applicants, that many thousands were of necessity refused; and General La Fayette was so surrounded by the entreaties of more than 200 young noblemen, some requesting to be accepted as aides de camp, and others as secretaries, that he found himself utterly at a loss to evade their importunities.

The house of the American Minister was in the same way besieged from morning to night, by thousands, who earnestly begged, as a very particular favour, that he would exert his influence with the

French Minister, to obtain for them permission to serve under the orders of the illustrious Washington. In short, without being well acquainted with the impetuous character of the youth of France, it would be impossible to form an adequate idea of the extraordinary scenes which occurred at this time, both at Paris and Versailles. It was no uncommon case, for young men to travel post, night and day, for several hundred leagues, in order to be among the first who presented themselves at court, to solicit the favour of being permitted to serve in the American war.

The spirit of the nation, at the same time, came powerfully to the Marquis's assistance. Every Frenchman, in a greater or less degree, entertains against the English a strong disposition of hostility, for which, perhaps, no adequate reason can be assigned. To combat in the cause of liberty, under the standard of a General like Washington, was, doubtless, a consideration of great weight with every young and gallant spirit; but, in so doing, to turn their arms against the enemies of their own country, and to wrest from their possession a country like America, was an enterprise too inviting to resist; and it was this reflection, no doubt, which principally operated to induce many thousand young Frenchmen to use all their interest to obtain as a favour, what most would regard as the greatest of misfortunes; and to accept, with the sincerest gra-

titude, permission to leave their native soil, with all that was dear to them, and to seek a distant shore, where they must necessarily be exposed to the hazards of danger, disease, and death. La Fayette had shown them the glorious example, and his grateful compatriots strove, by all the means in their power, to testify their affectionate regard. Every one was ambitious of the honour of doing honour to *him;* and no man was ever received with more enthusiasm than General La Fayette everywhere met with in France.

A short tour in Auvergne, which he undertook about this time, partly for the purpose of escaping these perpetual festivities, and partly in order to arrange his family affairs, (the greater part of his property being situated there,) bore every resemblance to an actual triumph. From Auvergne he returned to Paris and Versailles, where Louis, in granting permission to La Fayette to rejoin the American army, added, that he could not better serve his King, than by serving America. Shortly after, he embarked on board of one of the King's frigates, which had been equipped at Havre by order of the government, in order to give him a safer and more honourable passage. He was accompanied by a crowd of officers; and carried with him arms, ammunition, and supplies of every description.

We have mentioned the resolution of Congress, voting to La Fayette a magnificent sword, to be enriched with allegorical inscriptions. As soon as it was finished, Dr. Franklin forwarded it to Havre, under the charge of his grandson, with the following letter.

"*Passy, 24th August*, 1779.

" Sir,

" The Congress, sensible of your merit towards the United States, but *unable adequately to reward it*, determined to present you with a sword, as a small mark of their grateful acknowledgment. They directed it to be ornamented with suitable devices. Some of the principal actions of the war, in which you distinguished yourself by your bravery and conduct, are, therefore, represented upon it. These, with a few emblematic figures, all admirably well executed, make its principal value. By the help of the exquisite artists France affords, I find it easy to express every thing but *the sense we have of your worth and our obligations to you.* For this, figures, and even words, are found insufficient.

" I therefore only add, that, with the most perfect esteem and respect, I have the honour to be your obedient servant,

" Benjaman Franklin.

"P. S. My grandson goes to Havre with the sword, and will have the honour of presenting it to you."

La Fayette arrived at Boston on the 26th of April, 1780. As soon as the inhabitants were acquainted with the fact, they crowded to the harbour, and conducted him, amidst the roaring of cannon and the ringing of bells, to the rooms which the municipal authorities had prepared for him. Fireworks were seen in all the places of public amusement; he was invited to all entertainments, and unusual and repeated distinctions were conferred upon him, as tokens of the general satisfaction at seeing him among them again. These testimonials of gratitude and regard were particularly honourable, inasmuch as they were awarded to his personal merit alone; he having as yet communicated to none the agreeable intelligence of which he was the bearer.

He withdrew as speedily as possible from these tumultuous demonstrations of joy, which, far from being confined to the town, were equally exhibited by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, who came in crowds to assure him of their esteem and affection. At his arrival at the seat of government, he communicated to Congress the official information, that the King of France had consented to send very considerable land and sea forces, to assist them in their just and honourable enterprise. He was com-

plimented by a deputation of the members, and was received by the inhabitants with every proof of consideration and regard.

We leave the reader to imagine the mutual joy experienced by La Fayette and Washington, at their first interview, after his return. The strong affection which the American General felt for his adopted son continued every day to increase, while nothing could exceed the respect and veneration which the youthful warrior felt for this great and illustrious man.

CHAPTER V.

Campaigns of General La Fayette, from 1780, until his return to France.

The military operations of the year 1779 were of little consequence in America; but in Europe, the political events of this year were of no small importance. The representations of La Fayette had convinced the cabinet of Versailles, that neither the succours, nor the limited instructions of Count d'Estaing, would answer the design proposed. The Bourbon family of France and Spain united in declaring war against their common enemy, and even before the declaration, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, Don Bernardo de Galvez, had, on the 19th August, 1779, solemnly recognised the independence of the States, and had commenced hostilities against the English, by the occupation of the post of Mobile.

The Americans, however, anticipated too much from the alliance of France. They confidently expected that this measure, on the part of the French

cabinet, would give rise to a declaration of war between Great Britain and the Bourbons, by which the former would be so much occupied, as to be unable to prosecute, with vigour, her plan of reducing them to submission. General Washington endeavoured, in vain, to represent to Congress and the different confederated States, that Great Britain entertained no idea whatever of abandoning her original design; that her decided naval superiority would overpower the united efforts of France and Spain; and that, in short, the Americans must redouble their activity and rouse their energies, to finish, by vigourous operations, a struggle, which had already lasted much too long.

The failure of the attack on Savannah, in which Count d'Estaing was wounded, 9th Oct. 1779, induced the French Admiral to re-embark his troops, and bid a final farewell to the American seas.

The arrival of General La Fayette, and the agreeable information of which he was the bearer, infused a little more spirit and activity in the movements of the army. He was immediately intrusted with the command of the light infantry and dragoons; General Washington finding no better way of rewarding the zeal and merit of his youthful friend.

La Fayette made very great sacrifices to assist the General in the equipment of the troops, who were coming in much more slowly than was antici-

pated or desired; for Washington was, about this time, projecting an attack upon New-York.

On the 13th of July, information was received from that city, that a large French squadron had been seen, between the Capes of Virginia and Delaware; and the next day, a letter was received from General Heath, at Newport, dated the 11th, with information that the French fleet was that instant coming up the harbour.

Shortly after, General Washington received letters from Count de Rochambeau and Chevalier de Tiernay, apprizing him of their arrival. They wrote word, that in consequence of the difficulty experienced in collecting transports for the troops embarking for America, the squadron of the Count de Guiche, destined for the West-Indies, requiring nearly all, they had brought with them only the first division; but that the second was in readiness, at Brest, and only waiting for the transports necessary for their embarkation.

But what was of more importance, and equally honourable to Washington and La Fayette, Count de Rochambeau informed the American Commander-in-chief, that he had received the most positive orders to place himself entirely at the disposal of the American Congress; that the French troops were to be regarded as auxiliaries, and consequently, according to the usages of war, were inferior in rank and authority to the nation who employed them.

The two Generals were thoroughly convinced of the necessity of maintaining the most perfect harmony and good understanding between the two armies. Under these circumstances, General La Fayette performed a part as honourable to himself, as it was useful to the allies. He passed continually from one camp to the other, charged with the most delicate and difficult commissions, which, as he considered himself as equally belonging to each nation, he endeavoured to execute without committing the honour or interest of either. In all his orders, General Washington recommended the utmost unanimity; and the better to bring about a union of feeling and concert of action, he directed that his soldiers should wear, as a token of affection and friendship for their allies, a white ribbon, which was the colour of the French cockade, along with their own cockade, which was black.

The first division of the French fleet, as it arrived at Newport, consisted of two ships of 80 guns, one of 74, four of 64, two frigates of 40, one cutter of 20, a hospital ship, pierced for 64 guns, and 32 transports, under the command of Rear Admiral de Tiernay. On board were four regiments of troops, with the Duke de Lauzun's legion, consisting of a great number of volunteer noblemen, whom the King had permitted to serve. There was, besides, a bat-

talion of artillery, with a select train of bombarding and field pieces; the whole being under the command of Lieutenant General the Count de Rochambeau.

General La Fayette was immediately directed by the Commander-in-chief, to superintend the reception of his countrymen, a commission which he executed to the satisfaction of all. Washington had at the same time given him confidential instructions, to propose to the new allies a combined plan of operations, but on no account to conceal the melancholy condition of the American army. In consequence, however, of a series of unfortunate events, which it is not our business to detail, the contemplated attack on New-York was never attempted; and the year 1780 elapsed without any remarkable occurrence.

In the early part of the campaign of 1781, the enemy extended their ravages to the south of Virginia, and La Fayette was, in consequence, sent at the head of an expedition against Portsmouth; but an unexpected event occurred, which checked his zeal, and forced him to abandon the enterprise, in the same manner as he had before been compelled to give over the invasion of Canada. This event was an engagement, which took place on the 5th of March, 1781, between Destouches, the commander of the French squadron, and Admiral Arbuthnot.

In consequence of the result of this engagement, La Fayette retrograded to the head of Elk; where he received General Washington's orders to return to Virginia to meet General Philips, who had effected a conjunction with the forces of General Arnold at Portsmouth. Although the troops under his command were literally without coats or shoes, and destitute of almost every necessary, in a country, too, where it was extremely difficult to procure subsistence, not a single murmur was heard; for their General had set them the example of suffering in silence. He had advanced as far as Baltimore, when he was informed that General Philips was embarking with all possible diligence at Portsmouth, with upwards of 3,000 men. This proved for La Fayette a moment of extreme embarrassment and distress. There was not a single pair of shoes in the whole army; but the universal confidence he had inspired, procured him the loan of a sum of money sufficiently large to satisfy the most urgent wants of his troops. Believing that it was the design of General Philips to make an attack upon Richmond, he hastened to that place with so much diligence, that he arrived on the very evening preceding the day on which his adversary made his appearance. By this rapid and dexterous movement, the capital of Virginia, at that time the general depot of the military supplies of that state, was rescued from the

most imminent danger. Early the next morning, the English entered Manchester, a village situated directly opposite to Richmond.

The two armies watched each other's movements for some time, when General Philips, unwilling to encounter the hazard of attempting to dislodge the Marquis from the strong position he had taken, conceived it most advisable to retire.

The combined forces of Generals Arnold, Philips, and Cornwallis, were so decidedly superior in number, and at the same time, the conquest of Virginia would have been so fatal to the hopes of all the southern states, that the Marquis La Fayette found himself surrounded by innumerable difficulties, and sensibly felt the great importance and high responsibilities of his charge.

Fully aware of the storm that was gathering over his head, and anxiously looking around for the means of meeting, or at least averting its fury, he commenced the retreat of his little army, which consisted of only 1,000 regulars, 2,000 militia, and 60 dragoons. Cornwallis, highly elated with the prospect of success, secured, as he believed, by the youth of his adversary, was imprudent enough to state, in his letters to England, that *the boy could not possibly escape him.* The engagement, however, from which he expected to realize his boast, was carefully and constantly avoided by the Mar-

quis. Foiled in every attempt to bring him to action, Cornwallis at last made an effort to cut off his communication with General Wayne, who was advancing from the north, with 800 Pennsylvanians. Here he was again disappointed; for the junction was effected at Racoon Ford, without the loss of a single man. The next object of Lord Cornwallis was to seize the ammunition, which, for greater security, had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle old Court-house, above the point of the Fork. Just at the instant when the junction between Generals La Fayette and Wayne took place, Lord Cornwallis threw himself between the combined armies and the public magazines. As the possession of these stores was, with both armies, an object of the greatest importance, La Fayette was determined to make an attempt to pass the British army by forced marches, while they were still two days march from Albemarle old Court-house. Here again Lord Cornwallis believed he had outgeneralled his adversary; he knew the design of La Fayette; but he saw no way by which his object could be effected, except by a road where the American army might be attacked to the greatest advantage. It was a critical moment, but the Marquis had the address and good fortune to evade the danger, and accomplish his design. Part of his army was ordered to open, during the night, a road, which, though

leading more directly to Albemarle old Court-house, had not been made use of for several years, and which was consequently very much obstructed. By this manœuvre, he succeeded in effecting his object; and Cornwallis, the following morning, saw, to his great mortification and astonishment, the army of La Fayette occupying a strong position, between his troops and the American magazines.

His lordship, having failed in all his plans, returned to Richmond, to which place he was followed by the Marquis La Fayette. The main body of the American army in Virginia had just been reinforced, by troops under the command of Baron Steuben, and by several volunteer corps, consisting of citizens of Virginia and Maryland; and La Fayette had sufficient address to make the English General believe, that he was much stronger than he really was. Under this apprehension, Lord Cornwallis retreated to Williamsburg, which, however, he soon after evacuated, in consequence of being weakened, by a requisition from Sir Henry Clinton of a part of his troops.

The next morning La Fayette changed his position, and advanced close upon the enemy's camp, with the view of attacking their rear, when the main body should have passed over the ford, at which they were encamped, into the Island of Jamestown. Lord Cornwallis, who had suspected this design, re-

tained the greater part of his army on the main land, and at the same time employed every possible stratagem to make it appear that his main body had actually crossed the ford in the night. La Fayette, however, was not to be deceived. He determined to reconnoitre the enemy's camp himself, and judge of its strength from his own observation. He immediately detected the scheme, and returning to his original position, found General Wayne, with a small detachment of eight hundred men, engaged with the whole British line. La Fayette, perceiving the danger, ordered General Wayne to retreat; and Cornwallis, suspecting, from the hardiness of the attack and the time of the day, that this manœuvre was intended to draw him into an ambuscade, did not venture to leave his position. Thus, owing partly to the caution and circumspection of the Marquis, and partly to the timidity of the English General, the stratagem of Cornwallis was entirely defeated. From Jamestown, the British army proceeded to Portsmouth, and the Marquis availed himself of this opportunity to refresh his harassed troops, who had thus kept the field with so much success, against a great superiority of effective force.

After a series of manœuvres, unnecessary to describe, in which the English General evinced a bold and enterprising disposition, and the young Marquis a happy combination of the ardour of youth

and the judgment of ripened manhood, Lord Cornwallis finally collected his whole force at Yorktown. The Marquis, in the mean time, had taken a position on James river, in order to resist any attempt which the British army might make to escape into South Carolina; and entered into a variety of arrangements, all subordinate to the grand design of the ensuing campaign.

Various circumstances, as is very well known, had, about this time, concurred to induce General Washington to abandon the grand enterprise he had projected against New-York, and to direct the whole strength of the allied forces towards the waters of the Chesapeake. The combined army, under the command of Washington and de Rochambeau, had advanced on this expedition as far as Chester, in Pennsylvania, when they received the welcome intelligence of the arrival of Admiral de Grasse in the Chesapeake, with twenty-four ships of the line. This took place on the 30th of August, and on the next day, three thousand two hundred men, for the most part drawn from St. Domingo, under the command of the Marquis de St. Simon, were disembarked on the south side of James river, and promptly effected a junction with the forces under La Fayette. The French General, as may well be imagined, felt great pleasure in finding himself reinforced by so large a number of his own countrymen, and

now conceived great hopes of rendering important services to the cause in which he had engaged with so much disinterested ardour.

The allied forces soon proceeded to lay siege to Yorktown. In the investment of this post, General La Fayette greatly distinguished himself; and on one occasion, in particular, in a manner too deserving of notice to omit. The progress of the besiegers was considerably retarded by the fire from two redoubts, advanced about three hundred yards in front of the British works. With a view to excite emulation between the allied troops, the attack of the one was committed to the French, and of the other to the Americans. The Marquis de La Fayette headed the American detachment, and the Baron de Viominil the other. Just before sunset, the two detachments, animated with the emulous hope of doing honour to themselves and to their respective countries, marched firmly to the assault.

The American detachment charged the redoubt without firing a gun, and rushing over the abattis and palisades, almost instantaneously carried the works, with very inconsiderable loss. The French were equally successful, but in consequence of meeting with greater resistance, the redoubt committed to their charge was carried with the loss of a much greater number of men. The Commander-in-chief was very much gratified with the intrepidity, cool-

ness and firmness shown by both parties on this occasion. In the orders of the following day, the General expressed a high sense of the able conduct of both La Fayette and De Viominil, and requested them to convey to their respective detachments his acknowledgments of their gallant intrepidity. "The General reflects," conclude the orders, "with the highest degree of pleasure, on the confidence which the troops of the two nations must hereafter have in each other. Assured of mutual support, he is convinced there is no danger which they will not cheerfully encounter, no danger which they will not bravely overcome."*

The result of the siege is universally known. Lord Cornwallis was soon compelled to surrender. In negotiating the articles of capitulation, the English General, full of admiration of the valour and conduct of the Marquis, requested as a particular favour, to be permitted to treat with him alone, and to surrender his sword into his hands; an office which the modesty of La Fayette compelled him to decline.

After receiving the acknowledgments of the Commander-in-chief, and the thanks of Congress, General La Fayette proceeded, in November, 1781, to Philadelphia, where he was received with every demonstration of joy. By the state of Virginia he

* Marshall's Life of Washington.

was presented with a bust, on which were various honorary inscriptions. Met by applause, and followed by gratitude wherever he went, he finally, in December, 1781, sailed a second time for France, in order to urge the French government to extend further assistance. The American ministers in Europe were at the same time instructed to confide freely in him the most secret affairs of state.

CHAPTER VI.

The arrival of Gen. La Fayette in his native country; his travels in Germany, and his third voyage to the United States.

General La Fayette, on his arrival in France, was received with such continued demonstrations of joy, that he had scarce a moment of leisure to devote to his own family and affairs. The court and people vied in showing their admiration of this young hero, so distinguished for his modesty and bravery.

After the King had listened to the history of American affairs which La Fayette related, he inquired, with his usual frankness and good nature, "But, sir, what were you doing all this time?" for the young General had not uttered a single word about himself.

Louis was so delighted with his conduct, and his attachment to the American cause, which reflected honour upon his own crown, that he bestowed many favours upon him. The young Queen, Maria Antoinette, paid him some flattering compliments, and presented him her miniature.

Madame La Fayette shared in the universal admiration. Among a thousand other instances of this, we shall only relate the following. Voltaire, shortly before his death, was invited to the Duke Choiseul's where a large company was assembled, and where he was received with the usual acclamations. Perceiving Madame La Fayette among the ladies, he approached her, and falling on his knee, paid his respects to her, and complimented her with an eulogium upon her husband's patriotic virtues.

After this, no person will be surprised that La Fayette attracted such public attention ; for where ever he appeared crowds were attracted around him, crying "long live La Fayette."

He was undoubtedly delighted with these many proofs of regard ; but, after remaining six weeks in Paris, perceiving the enthusiasm did not abate, he hastened to quit the capital, and make a journey, with his young wife and his son George, now three years of age, to his estates in Touraine. Even this journey was a triumph, for no sooner was it known that General La Fayette was about to arrive in any place, than the bells were rung, a procession was formed, and the magistrates welcomed him with little less than regal honours. The city of Orleans, in particular, detained him a whole week.

He felt it proper, it is true, not to accept these honours, for he admired neither ostentation nor

ceremony; but La Fayette was but a man, and he could not help being sensible to them.

Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, had attracted for a long time general attention; and La Fayette, wishing to see this great man, took the present opportunity to visit him. In this journey he stopped at the courts of most of the German princes, who all received him with distinguished honours. Professors of the universities, students, the clergy, nobles, princes and people, all pressed to see the hero whose name stood foremost in the lists of fame. I have heard it asserted, that persons rode 600 miles to see him.

The autumn of 1782 was now at hand, the time fixed by the King of Prussia for the grand review which was to take place at Pottsdam. At this place were assembled 50,000 men from every part of the kingdom who for three successive days went through the evolutions of battles, sieges and storms, under the immediate command of the King himself. I have been twice present at these magnificent reviews, one at Tempethoff, a village four miles distant from Berlin, and one at Magdebourg. I have seen the Great Frederick mounted on his white charger, with his little three-cornered cocked hat on his head, his threadbare blue jacket, and his opera glass in his hand, commanding 30,000 picked men, and surrounded by his brilliant circle of staff officers. He followed, with his glass, the evolutions of the differ-

ent corps—and wo to the man who blundered; he was instantly cashiere .

It was at these reviews that the princes of the blood received their commissions, after serving from six to twelve months as cadets, carrying a musket and cartridge box, and mounting guard as common soldiers, in their turn, for twenty-four hours together. If their arms and uniform, which they are obliged to keep clean themselves, are not in perfect order, they are punished, by being put under arrest, or by being deprived of some privileges; for, as the Prussian policy has been of the military order from the time of the Grand Elector, Frederick William, to the present day, all the royal princes begin by serving as common soldiers, and are promoted successively through the different ranks of officers; the duties belonging to each of which is required to be properly discharged. So rigidly was this rule observed, that I have seen the present king, when prince royal under Frederick William, on guard before the door of tents of the cadets, at Berlin. They receive only the common pay, eating with the mess, and, in a word, under the same discipline and hardships as the other soldiers. If they misbehave, report is made to the King, and they are severely punished; while, on the other hand, if they behave well, they are praised, and rewarded with a gold Frederick, value about three dollars, and never

more. As soon as they attain to the rank of ensign, they are equipped by the King, and are placed in one of the regiments of the Guards, when they have, for the first time, the honour of assisting at the grand reviews.

It is at these reviews that the promotions, punishments and rewards are published, by being read three times at the head of each company. Frederick always directed these personally, and as his extreme severity and exact justice was well known, each applied himself to his own particular business. It was by this means that the Prussian army, under him, possessed the most experienced officers in the world. The young noblemen were obliged to pass through the same course of preparatory study as the princes. If our militia would imitate the example of Prussian discipline, they would be absolutely invincible.

As the discipline and tactics of the Prussian army were in high repute, vast numbers of foreign officers and strangers of distinction were attracted together on these occasions. The encampment formed by their tents resembled an immense city.

La Fayette arrived at Pottsdam in September, 1782, after the review was already begun. As soon as Frederick heard that General La Fayette was present, he despatched an aid de camp to invite him to the palace of Sans Souci. Here he had

several long audiences with him; and after Frederick had expressed his admiration of Washington and of La Fayette, he took from a box his miniature set with diamonds, and kindly said, that since he was obliged to be separated from the General, he hoped this little memento would sometimes recall him to recollection, and then presented the miniature to La Fayette.

When we reflect on the stern, unbending, and despotic character of Frederick, we cannot but be astonished at the favourable reception of La Fayette, the champion of liberty, by one who had but little sympathy for his noble feelings.

On La Fayette's return from Germany, in the commencement of 1783, he was very impatient for the consummation of the treaty between Great Britain, France and America, and strongly represented to Louis and his ministers, that their assistance to America ought to be increased, in order to force Great Britain into a peace. It was in consequence of these representations, that the King gave him permission to return to America, and ordered Count d'Estaing to hold himself in readiness at Cadiz, with the French fleet, to transport 8,000 troops, which were on board, to America, as soon as La Fayette should join him. But news of the ratification of peace being in the mean time received, they did not sail.

In 1784, La Fayette received very pressing invitations from his friends in America, soliciting another visit, particularly from his adoptive father Washington, who had tendered his resignation to Congress after the war, and requested permission to retire to his country seat at Mount Vernon, Virginia, where he wished again to see his beloved child, the companion of his arms, his troubles, and his glory. La Fayette, not less anxious than himself, quickly arranged his affairs, and embarked at Havre on the 1st July, 1784, for North America.

It is a spectacle equally affecting and instructive to see a great nation, which had freed itself after so many struggles, offering to one of its liberators, a young man only 27 years old, the only tribute freemen ought to pay; that of acknowledging their gratitude for benefits received. I do not fear wounding his modesty by the recital of these things, for the history of the extraordinary proofs of admiration exhibited under so many forms, every where in the course of his journey over more than nineteen hundred miles, is universally known throughout the whole continent.

Among the various incidents which we have recorded, this voyage is not the least interesting. He crossed the Atlantic to visit again his beloved America, now united from the north to the south in bonds of union and independence; to see the differ-

ent states enjoying the blessings of peace, after being so long ravaged by a foreign army, and suffering under the accumulated evils of tyranny and war. He came to congratulate his friends and companions in arms, now again peaceable citizens, and to partake with them the first fruits of their efforts, perseverance, and courage; to pass some time on the banks of the Potomac, in the arms of his illustrious father, George Washington, the liberator of America.

CHAPTER VII.

Account of the third voyage of La Fayette to the United States of America.

La Fayette embarked on board of the packet ship Courier, and arrived in New-York after a passage of thirty-four days.

As soon as his arrival was known, the officers who had served with him and under him, and the citizens who had formerly been acquainted with him, left their business, and pressed to welcome him back to America, and to offer him their congratulations.

Here, then, in the course of human events, did he find himself in the bosom of a city, in the peaceful possession of its former inhabitants, which he had so often viewed during the war from the opposite side of the Hudson, while yet under the power of the British.

The day after his arrival he was invited to a public dinner, when all the officers appeared once more in their military accoutrements, which they had long since laid aside. Animation and happiness enlivened this repast of brothers and friends,

the first he had ever made upon this continent since it was free.

After remaining a short time in New-York, he went to Philadelphia, where he met the same warm and affectionate reception. The officers of the army and militia, together with the most respectable citizens, came in a body to meet him. They escorted him to the Governor's house, and from thence to the lodgings prepared for him; and in the evening, every house in the city was illuminated.

The next day, Generals St. Clair, Wayne, and Irwine, were appointed a committee, from the corps of officers, to wait on La Fayette, with the congratulations of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania. It was not his friends and acquaintance alone, who thus expressed their heartfelt happiness at his return. As soon as the Legislature of the state heard of it, they appointed a committee, composed of a delegate from each county, who presented him an address, in the name of the Legislature, a part of which is as follows: "The representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania offer you their sincerest congratulations upon your happy arrival at Philadelphia, and welcome you in the name of the state. Enjoying the blessings of liberty and peace, we contemplate with much satisfaction those distinguished persons, who, disregarding the dangers of the seas, united their efforts to our own, to aid in

terminating the war. Amongst these illustrious individuals we rank you the chief; your example and your zeal have animated and encouraged our own citizens, nor did you leave us until we had attained the great object of all our hopes."*

This same Legislature, by a special act, erected into a county a large tract of country, by the name of La Fayette. The Governor was directed to address to La Fayette a letter on this occasion, which was written in the manly style of republican simplicity, and at once flattering to his pride and patriotism.

Anxious to accomplish the object of his voyage, which was to meet once more his beloved Washington, he left Philadelphia on the 14th; the next day he slept at Baltimore, and the day after he arrived at Mount Vernon.

When we reflect upon the principal occurrences in the lives of these two illustrious men, the difference of their ages, countries, the distance by which they were originally separated from each other; the circumstances which brought them together; the importance of the scenes in which they had been engaged; the

* We must beg our readers' indulgence once for all, for verbal differences in those documents which were originally written in English. It must be remembered that they are now translated from the French, and consequently have passed through two languages. It is believed that the ideas are preserved throughout. But we have not had time to procure the originals. *Translator.*

glorious success of their efforts; their mutual anxiety to meet again; the tender, paternal regard on the one hand, and filial love on the other: when we reflect on all this, we may in vain look for an example; and yet still more was felt than is here attempted to be described.

After a stay of twelve days, the memory of which will long be dear to La Fayette, he left Mount Vernon, and arrived on the thirty-first instant at Baltimore. We shall not weary our readers with accounts of the enthusiasm which prevailed wherever he came; suffice it to say, the whole nation seemed actuated by one soul, so unanimous were the demonstrations of joy everywhere.

After passing through the principal towns, in his route, from Maryland to Maine, in all which he was received with the same demonstrations of joy and gratitude, he returned to Boston, where he embarked in a frigate for the Chesapeake; he thence returned to Mount Vernon, stopping at the principal towns through which he passed on his way.

In 1784, most of the states, during the absence of General La Fayette, passed laws, naturalizing him and his male descendants. Among the rest, Maryland passed the following one: "Whereas, the General Assembly of the state of Maryland is desirous of perpetuating a name so dear to all, and to recognise the Marquis de la Fayette, for one of its own citi-

zens; one who, at the age of eighteen, left his country, risked his life in the vicissitudes of the revolution, &c. Therefore, it is declared by the General Assembly of Maryland, that the Marquis de la Fayette, and his male descendants for ever, shall be, and each is hereby acknowledged and held as citizens born in this state, and henceforth shall enjoy the rights, privileges, and immunities of natural born citizens; provided, that he conform himself to the constitution and laws of this state," &c. &c.

At Annapolis La Fayette received the last paternal benedictions of Washington; and took an affectionate farewell of his numerous friends. I leave to the reader to paint to himself the feelings of all parties, during this affecting scene. After passing through Baltimore and Philadelphia, he arrived at Trenton, New-Jersey, on the eighth of December, where he took leave of Congress, which had been convened there for some months past. From Trenton he went to New-York, where a frigate was waiting for him, and after a stay of ten days, he embarked at White-Hall for France. From the forts on the battery, the standard of the United States waved to him its stars and stripes, and thirteen cannon announced the number of States that grieved over his departure.

In casting our eyes over the journals of Congress, we feel pleasure in observing, how often that

body publicly expressed its approbation of General La Fayette.

We shall close this chapter with a few reflections suggested by the nature of these memoirs. The character of La Fayette in America, rests on a foundation which the strictest scrutiny would only render more firm. There is not, in his whole life, one moment in which he has not sustained the glorious reputation which we so much admire. I have already observed, that his steady courage was only to be equalled by his prudence and military knowledge, which endeared him so much to the nation; and we may even doubt, whether he appeared the more conspicuous for his prudence, or his benevolence. Among the innumerable instances of the latter, we shall only mention his saving Captain Butler, a British officer. It will serve as an additional illustration of the pitiful duplicity of Arnold, who, after his treachery, undertook to convince the British people that he had always shed English blood with infinite regret. About the close of the year 1777, or the beginning of 1778, the Marquis arrived at Albany, at the moment Butler was about to be executed by the order of Arnold. Butler was certainly criminal; but the Marquis discovered that there had been some irregularity in the proceedings; and he took advantage of this to save him.

The propensity in mankind to seek for blemish-

es in the character of men designed by nature to do honour to their species, is unknown in America. There no one is wounded by eulogiums bestowed upon deserving merit. There, envy is not always lurking to stab its victims in the dark. Washington and La Fayette have nothing to fear from Americans. Their histories will be but one continued eulogy, and yet the historian will run no risk of accusation of partiality. When a man is known by a long series of virtuous actions; when his conduct has been always wise, always noble, Americans require some proof beyond simple rumour, before they entertain suspicions.

CHAPTER VIII.

Short sketch of the political state of Europe, and of France in particular, at the commencement of the French Revolution. Of the part which La Fayette took in this event, till his appointment as Commander-in-chief of the French army.

Before going farther, we shall give a short sketch oft he political state of Europe, and particularly of France; briefly noticing every event which has any connexion with General La Fayette. The tranquillity of Europe at the death of Louis XV. (10th of May, 1774,) was disturbed by the attempt, in America, to throw off the government of England. The effort was successful, and the confederation of the United States, and the independence of the greater part of North America, was the result. The war, however, was carried on between the Americans, the English, the French and the Spaniards only, the other European states continuing in a state of neutrality. The maritime powers, nevertheless, in order to make their neutrality respected, were obliged to form a coalition amongst themselves.

The treaty of Paris at length put an end to the war, and commerce was again renewed amongst the different nations.

The Porte brought forward various causes of complaint against Russia, and Russia accused the Porte, in return, of having excited the Persians against her. Catharine II., ambitious of glory, and emboldened by success, was far from thinking her empire sufficiently extended by the partition of Poland and the possession of the Crimea. Prussia and England, alarmed by the treaty of commerce which France had just concluded with Russia, (1787,) endeavoured to persuade the Turks that the cabinet of Versailles had deserted them for the purpose of forming an alliance with Russia. The journey of Catharine into the Crimea, the raising a hundred thousand soldiers in the Ukraine, and an army of sixty thousand Austrians on the frontiers of Silesia, confirmed the belief, and a declaration of war between the Sublime Porte and Russia and Austria was the consequence.

Denmark, carefully preserving her neutrality, was constantly occupied in extending her commerce, and increasing her prosperity.

The king of Sweden, oppressing his subjects by his very triumphs, and stimulated with vanity and ambition, waited with impatience for some opportunity to increase his power and extend his territories, by conquest.

Poland appeared resigned to the hard fate which she was unable to oppose, but still nourished a hope of revenge, which the breaking out of the war in the east seemed to afford an opportunity of gratifying.

Prussia was threatened with the loss of Frederick, and with the prospect of seeing his nephew, who had formerly given great promise, abandon himself to pleasure, and the charlatanism of the Illuminati, while he would feebly grasp the reins of government, which were held with so much firmness by his uncle. She meditated, however, the taking possession of Dantzic, and profitting by the weak and temporizing course of France towards Holland. She therefore powerfully strengthened her influence, by sending the Duke of Brunswick, with 20,000 men, into that country, who, in twenty days, took possession of the whole United Provinces, and placed them under the control of the Stadtholder. This step of Frederick William II. excited resentment everywhere in the minds of the friends of liberty, while, at the same time, it misled the despotic governments, by inducing the belief that the same means might succeed with equal facility elsewhere.

Under the government of an elector, and of wise laws, Saxony was rapidly recovering from the evils with which the seven years' war had overwhelmed her.

The republic of Holland was badly constructed,

and its defects produced frequent and violent disturbances, in 1786, under the government of William V., who seemed destitute of the talents requisite for his situation.

The Emperor Joseph II., discouraged by the result of the seven years' war, as well as that on account of the Bavarian succession in 1778, had been obliged to renounce the idea of reconquering Silesia, and of executing his projects upon Bavaria.

Switzerland continued to enjoy, in the larger cantons, rather quiet than liberty, which seemed to have taken refuge in the mountainous and less frequented cantons.

Italy, which had the good fortune to enjoy a peace of 40 years, appeared to be no longer subject to the storms which lowered over the rest of the world.

Spain continued to be at once the poorest and richest nation on the globe.

Portugal at this period was wholly dependent on England.

Exhausted by a war of nearly six years' duration, carried on in every sea, and in both the Indies, and alarmed at the loss of her American colonies, Great Britain aimed at retrieving her affairs at the expense of the preponderating powers, and again altering the face of Europe. With this view, she commenced a system of intrigue and management in the

different cabinets, which resulted in a degree of success beyond her hopes.

France, too proud, perhaps, of having aided in establishing the independence of the United States, enjoyed, under an excessively weak monarch, a state of tranquillity and apparent prosperity. She had just terminated, with glory, a war, which had given a final blow to her finances, a fact of which she seemed entirely ignorant. The overthrow of the British power in India, the capture of Canada, and perhaps of Jamaica, all seemed to be practicable, but neither of them was accomplished. After having consented, however, to the partition of Poland, the invasion and humiliation of Holland, the capture of Dantzic, and the declaration of war against Turkey, France might still have succeeded in forming an alliance with Russia, Spain, and Austria, to oppose the growing ambition of England and Prussia.

General La Fayette, after his return from America, interested himself strongly in the affairs of the Batavian patriots, while at the same time he was endeavouring to procure a gradual manumission of the blacks, especially in the French colonies. In this benevolent scheme he expended a great deal of money and time; and we have the best authority for saying, that had not the important events of the French revolution followed, with a rapidity which

necessarily put a stop to his philanthropic exertions, he would have succeeded in meliorating the condition of that unfortunate people.

At the age of 29, General La Fayette was agreeably surprised by an unexpected tribute of honour conferred upon him; which was no less than a resolution passed by the Legislature of the state of Virginia to place his bust in the capitol. The following is an extract of a letter from Mr. Jefferson, Minister plenipotentiary of the United States, addressed to the *Prévôt des Marchands* and Municipality of Paris:

"The Legislature of the state of Virginia, in consideration of the services of Major General the Marquis de La Fayette, has resolved to place his bust in their capitol. This intention of erecting a a monument to his virtues, and to the sentiments with which he has inspired them, in the country to which they are indebted for his birth, has induced a hope that the city of Paris would consent to become the depository of a second proof of their gratitude. Charged by the state with the execution of this resolution, I have the honour to solicit the *Prévôt des Marchands* and Municipality of Paris to accept the bust of this brave officer, and give it a situation where it may continually awaken the admiration, and witness the respect, of the allies of France.

"*Dated 17th September*, 1786."

In consequence of this letter, the Baron de Breteuil, Minister and Secretary of State, for the department of Paris, wrote to the *Prévôt*, &c., that the King, to whom had been submitted the proposition, approved of the bust's being erected by the city. Accordingly, the council assembled on the 28th of September, and Mr. Short, an old member of the council of the state of Virginia, (Mr. Jefferson being confined by indisposition,) came to the city hall of Paris, to present the bust, executed by Mr. Houdon, and to read the letter addressed to the *Prévôt*, &c., by Mr. Jefferson, as also the resolutions of the State of Virginia. Mr. Pelletier de Morfontaine, Counsellor of State, and *Prévôt des Marchands*, opened the meeting by stating its object, handed to Mr. Veytard, the chief clerk, all the documents he possessed, to read; after which, Mr. Ethit de Corny, Attorney-General and Knight of the order of Cincinnatus, delivered an address, in which he recounted, in an interesting and impressive manner, La Fayette's services in North America, the confidence of the army in him, and attachment of the people to him. In his capacity of Attorney-General, he gave the requisite instructions for the reception of the bust, agreeably to the wish of the King. It was, accordingly, placed in one of the galleries of the city hall.

This interesting and novel ceremony produced upon the innumerable spectators the most affecting impressions. A gentleman who was present, made a very happy application of the remark of Tacitus on Germanicus, *fruitur fama.*

The finances of France were so exhausted by the war between England and the United States, in which she took an active part, that several of the provinces found it impossible to pay their portion of taxation. Many of the farmers abandoned the lands of their ancestors, in those less fertile countries, where the harvests would not enable them to pay the sums levied by the merciless taxgatherer. The expenses of the state surpassed the means of payment; the disorders of the court were at their greatest height, and unless some efficient means were immediately resorted to, a national bankruptcy would be inevitable. The King was sensible of this, but he had not firmness enough to set about a reform. The temporizing councils and weak politics of the Minister de Lomenie Brienne, and the too successful intrigues of the British court, crowned the misfortunes of France.

The States General assembled at the commencement of 1787; and the Marquis was nominated one of the members of the committee under Count d'Artois. He there read four memorials, extremely interesting, and filled with sound practical views and plans

for the internal management of France. He exhibited frankly and ably to the King the wretched state of France, vitally wounded, demanding in every direction reform and abolition of numberless abuses, the suppression of lettres de cachet, and prisons of state.

As much spirit had been evinced at the last meeting of the council, at which the Count d'Artois presided, he could not avoid showing his dissatisfaction, especially to the Marquis; but he, whose patriotism had been as disinterested and active as his courage and abilities had been useful to America, requested permission to read another memorial, signed by himself, begging at the same time the Count d'Artois to submit it to his Majesty in his (La Fayette's) own name. The committee having unanimously agreed to hear the memorial of La Fayette, and entirely approving of its contents, the Bishop of Langres promised to carry it to the assembly after Lent, together with all the proofs of the assertions it contained.

Before the memorial was read, M. de la Fayette found himself placed in very delicate circumstances. The Count d'Artois had expressed his opinion, that it was decidedly too emphatic, and too personal, from the very first phrase, which ran nearly thus: "We are requested by the King, in pointing out particular abuses, to subjoin our opinions with our signatures thereto. That which I commenced stating

last Saturday, (13th March,) is worthy of the earliest attention. I shall profit by this permission, my lord, with that zeal, impartiality and liberty, which I have always exercised."

Under these circumstances, more than ordinary presence of mind, added to very disinterested patriotism, were necessary to support him. M. de la Fayette was not in the least intimidated; and frankly replied to his Royal Highness, that he had the right by birth to lay his representations at the foot of the throne.

Mr. de Castillon supported La Fayette, and amongst other things told him, that he would undertake to state, in behalf of all the members of the council, that his appeal was perfectly just; that they conceived themselves bound by a sense of duty to support him throughout; and that the committee would co-operate with him, in attempting to bring about a redress of the grievances of which he complained. Another of the members, hurried on by the warmth of his enthusiasm, said to La Fayette, "Your achievements in America had already enrolled your name in the list of heroes; but never before have you so justly deserved that glorious distinction. How happy I should be, if there were a sculptor present, to perpetuate your zeal for the welfare of your country and your King."

It was with much difficulty that La Fayette

could reply to this enthusiastic flattery; after which he finished reading his memorial, addressing himself to the president of the committee, Count d'Artois.

He then demanded, successively, a series of reforms; the suppression of the prisons of state, and the *lettres de cachet*, called for the convocation of a national assembly, and obtained a resolution, favouring the civil condition of the protestants, of whom, as well as of the patriotic Batavians, he had been at all times the warmest and most zealous protector.

Though possessed of large estates in Brittany,* he joined the opposition party of that province; and when sent a deputy to the States General, he supported the motion of Mirabeau, for the removal of the troops. On the 11th of July, he proposed the first declaration of the rights of man and citizenship, and addressed the Assembly in these memorable words.

"Although my powers do not extend to me the

* M. de La Fayette had inherited, in his own right and his wife's, very considerable property in Brittany, Auvergne, Brie, and particularly in Touraine. All the tenants and peasantry attached to their estates cherished the warmest affection for this exemplary couple. They were beloved and blessed by many thousands, whom they had rescued from the depths of misery; and all the lands of La Fayette were distinguished from those belonging to other proprietors, by the ease and comfort of the tenants, among whom was not to be found a single mendicant or idler.

right of voting among you, it is my duty to lay my opinion before you.

"You have been presented with the declaration of rights, as the first object of your labour and attention.

"That declaration is indispensable. It is not founded upon metaphysical opinions, but upon the very basis of social order.

"It is of the first importance that those rights which are engraven on every man's heart, should be distinctly and unequivocally recognised.

"Yet it is my opinion that this declaration should be confined to a statement of the unalienable rights of man, and of man, as we find him, in a state of society.

"I have now the honour to submit the first model of such a declaration.

"I am far from insisting that it shall be adopted as it is; I only ask that it be copied, to be circulated freely among the different committees.

M. de Lally Tolendal arose, and said, "With the exception of a few lines, which admit, perhaps, of some little discussion, I second the motion which has just been offered. All the principles contained therein are the sacred emanations of truth; all the sentiments are noble, and sublime. The author of the motion now displays as much eloquence in speaking of liberty, as he has already shown courage in defending it"

General La Fayette then required that the Ministers should hold themselves responsible for all the acts done in the name of the King. He presided in the Assembly during the stormy sittings of the 13th and 14th, and in the deputation sent to Paris. He was proclaimed Commander-in-chief—caused the order to demolish the Bastile to be published—received the King on the 17th July, at the head of 200,000 armed men—instituted the tri-coloured cockade, and organized the National Guard of Paris and of the kingdom at large. After having rescued various persons from the fury of the mob, in despair at being unable to save Foulon and Berthier, he gave in his resignation, and although strongly and repeatedly solicited to resume the command, he firmly refused; while, at the same time, he declined receiving any pay for his services, or any indemnity for the expenses which his office had obliged him to incur. To the solicitations of the Assembly of the representatives of the municipality of Paris on this point, he made the following answer, on the 30th September, 1790, a reply strongly indicative of the disinterestedness and patriotic spirit of its author: "My private fortune secures me from want; it has outlasted two revolutions; and should it survive a third, through the complaisance of the people, it shall belong to them alone."

On the 5th of October, a troop of desperadoes proceeded in a threatening manner to Versailles; he immediately put the National Guard in motion, and

arrived in season to save the life of the King, his family, and body guard, on the famous day of the 6th, according to the opinion of all the world. Here, amongst others, he took the hand of the Queen, against whom the mob was most enraged, and who was afraid to appear before them, led her, with the Dauphin on the other side, into the balcony, and presented them to the people. Tearing the tri-coloured cockade from his own hat, he attached it to that of the young prince, and kissed the hand of the Queen. This bold and gallant conduct was loudly applauded, and the royal family, in consequence, saved. He then conducted the King to Paris, where he was followed by the Assembly.

General La Fayette served, with the same devotedness, the cause of the revolution, the interest of the people, public and individual freedom, and religious and civil liberty. He repeatedly demanded the suppression of disorder, the establishment of juries, the civil rights of men of colour, and the abolition of hereditary nobility.

It is well known that he refused the office of Dictator, of Lieutenant General of the kingdom, and of grand Constable.*

Through his influence, a decree was made that the command of the national guard of more than one department should not be intrusted to a single individu-

* See the Memoires de Bouillé, p. 119.

al, and this, at the moment when fourteen thousand persons, deputed from four millions of armed citizens, were soliciting him to take command of them. In their name, he took the oath of citizenship, in the *Champ de Mars*, at the confederation of 1790.

At the time of the King's attempt to leave the country, La Fayette was exposed to great danger, but his popularity, and the confidence which the nation placed in the soundness of his views and disinterestedness of his conduct, enabled him to overcome it. The charge advanced by the republicans against him, of conniving with the King, was no less absurd than that maintained by the Royalists, of his conspiracy against him.

The intention of La Fayette was not to re-acknowledge the regal power of Louis XVI., till he accepted the decree which placed him on a constitutional throne. He soon after dispersed, by force, an armed multitude, unfriendly to the decree, collected in the *champ de Mars*, and had even the courage to fire upon the crowd. After having caused the amnesty proposed by the King to be accepted, he resigned his commission, and retired to his estate of Chavagnac, in Auvergne.

CHAPTER IX.

Causes of his leaving France. Account of his confinement in the fortresses of Luxemburg, Wesel, Magdeburg, Glatz, Neisse, and Olmutz. Description of this last prison, and of his treatment while there.

When information was received that the Prussians and Austrians were preparing to commence hostilities against France, the Assembly was much embarrassed in the selection of commanders. La Fayette was, in consequence, recalled, and in conjunction with Marshals Luckner and Rochambeau, formed a plan to invade the Low Countries. General La Fayette, at the head of 50,000 men, was to have undertaken the execution of the project, in which he was to be supported by Rochambeau with a second army, while a third was to seize upon Mayence. This plan, however, failed. General La Fayette was then ordered to march with 10,000 men to Givet, for the purpose of attacking Namur. Destitute of camp equipage, provisions, and the means of transportation, it seem-

ed like an attempt to throw upon him the odium of the failure of the whole expedition. Notwithstanding the obstacles which he had to encounter, he arrived on the appointed day at the camp, but found no measures taken for carrying the town. As the attempt upon Mons by another army had failed, he received orders from Dumouriez, the Minister of War, to discontinue the attack upon Namur.

Marshal Rochambeau, disgusted by the base intrigues of his enemies, resigned his commission; the command of the army, in consequence, devolved upon Marshal Luckner and General La Fayette; the first of whom was directed to cover the frontier from the Rhine to Montmedy, and the other from Montmedy to Dunkirk. The advanced guard of La Fayette was placed at Grisvelle, in front of Maubeuge. The troops of the intrenched camp were directed to march upon the right flank of the enemy; the orders were executed in a dilatory manner, and the columns arrived just as the Austrians were retreating upon Mons.

The division at Grisvelle retreated upon Maubeuge. La Fayette afterwards took a position at Bavay, and Luckner took possession of Courtrai, but did not follow up his advantages.

Immediately after the arrival of General La Fayette at the camp, he commenced a reorganization of it, improved the discipline, introduced simplicity in the millitary administration, formed bodies

of light artillery, established military councils and courts martial, appointed an excellent staff of officers; in a word, he exerted all his powers in disciplining his troops and supplying their necessities.

The Jacobin faction, a formidable association, began at this time to gain strength, and to disseminate their principles throughout France. The first step of this society, formed of fanatics, who invariably adopted the most violent measures, was, to calumniate General La Fayette, he being the most prominent individual amongst the friends of a constitutional government. As soon as he was informed of their base machinations, he denounced them to the Legislative Assembly, in a letter dated the 16th of June.

The proceedings of the 20th June clearly announced a second revolution at hand; the friends and supporters of good order in vain hoped to prevent it. The insubordination of the army, the approach of the enemy, their early success, the weakness of the court, and the contempt it inspired, the division in the Legislative Assembly, the popular fanaticism, excited by the political clubs, with which France was filled, all contributed to render the catastrophe inevitable.

La Fayette wished to make a last effort to oppose a revolution, which seemed ready to throw his country, torn by domestic faction, into foreign

hands. Charged with addresses, signed by a great number of officers and soldiers, who complained with energy of the blow aimed against the constitution by the factions, he dared to enter Paris alone, and presenting himself to the Legislative body, he remonstrated with firmness, but with the little success which wisdom usually meets when it pleads against the passions.

He relied much upon the promptness and imposing character of the National Guard, but this body, intimidated by the populace, did not second his wishes; it dared not step forward and aid, by its presence, a courage which secret and barren wishes rendered of no avail. The popularity which La Fayette had always preserved, and of which his enemies in vain tried to deprive him, was of no farther use than to temper the fury of the Jacobins, who were determined to be satisfied with nothing less than his proscription. He returned to the army, and proposed to the King to anticipate the resolves of the Assembly, by going to Compeigne, where he would protect his person and the constitution, by his brave and faithful soldiers. The King refused to follow this advice, either because he still possessed prejudices against those who commenced the revolution, or because his natural weakness led him to regard a state of inaction as less dangerous than any other.

The Queen was at this period so strongly per-

suaded, that every proceeding of the court would appear criminal to the suspicious demagogues, that she answered the aid de camp of General La Fayette, that "perhaps the happiest situation in which we could be placed, in this state of popular fermentation, would be a confinement in some tower, till the event of this critical period is known."

It has appeared since, from the memoirs of different royalists, and especially from those of Mr. Hue, first valet-de-chambre of the present King, Louis XVIII., printed in Paris in 1814, that the refusal, which was attributed to the decision of the court itself, and to the repugnance felt for the patriots, arose in reality from a letter written by the Duke of Brunswick, from head-quarters at Coblentz, conjuring the King to remain at Paris, till the allied troops came to meet him!

General La Fayette, accused in his turn before the Assembly, by the Jacobins, was acquitted by a large majority, being upwards of two thirds of the votes. The next day, the 9th of August, was one of triumph to the Jacobins, for in consequence of the ill treatment which some of the members received from them, the Assembly declared its sessions *no longer free!*

After the events of the 10th of August, distrust reigned every where, and legal authority was at an end. The French nation had strongly expressed

their wish to live under a free monarchy, and their representatives had just violated the constitution, and imprisoned their monarch, whose person had been declared inviolable. From this moment, the same troubles, the same disorders, the same divisions, which agitated the capital, reigned in the army. A great part of the Generals and other officers felt indignant at the proceedings of the 10th of August, and many of the subalterns, hoping to succeed them, allied themselves with the new heads of government, and affected to treat as traitors all those who did not approve of the resolutions of Paris.

The great body of the soldiery, at first obedient to their leaders, had renewed the oath of fidelity to the constitution; but, as it always happens to the multitude, novelty, success, seductions, and suspicions insinuated with address, soon staggered their fidelity.

The knowledge of the country, and the movements of the enemy, made it obvious to the French commanders, that the Prussians wished to enter the kingdom by the way of Longvi, and they determined to direct all their measures of defence upon the frontiers of Champagne and Mesin. In this way, the command of the troops was divided between Marshal Luckner and General La Fayette.

The army had been increased by an abundance of recruits, as soldiers of the line, and of volunteers;

but the enemies of La Fayette had, in the distribution of the new-raised forces, given him but one third of the recruits, although he had one half of the frontier to defend.

Luckner was particularly directed to meet the attack of the Prussians in front, while La Fayette should harrass them in the flank. The Duke of Saxe-Teschen, in order to divide the French forces, had sent a corps of Austrian troops into Flanders, on the side of Bavay; La Fayette and Luckner, who were not deceived by this feint, ordered Dumouriez to quit his situation in the camp of Maulde, where he had uselessly shut up his troops, and to come and join them. Dumouriez exaggerated the dangers of the march of the Austrians, as well as the importance of the place he occupied, and disobeyed his orders. The Jacobins of Paris approved of his conduct, and proclaimed La Fayette a traitor. He ordered General Dillon to arrest Dumouriez. Dillon dared not execute this order, and Luckner and La Fayette, finding themselves deprived of the means upon which they had relied, were no longer able to withstand an army of 70,000 men, which was advancing under the orders of the King of Prussia.

Thus the disobedience of Dumouriez was in a great measure the cause which rendered the early progress of the enemy so easy and rapid. The veil

which covered his motives was thrown off, the moment his ambition was gratified by succeeding La Fayette in the command of the army; not only the fortifications of Maulde lost all their importance in his eyes, but, not believing himself in a state to resist the enemy with his own forces added to those of Luckner, he called upon General Kellerman to join him with the troops he commanded in Alsace. The Legislative Assembly, believing it an object of primary importance to secure the troops in their favour, sent commissioners to the army, to inform them of the revolution of the 10th of August.

False reports, unfaithful descriptions, absurd denunciations, pompous declamation, a charlatanic pretension to principles already violated, deceitful promises of advancement, skilful corruption, every thing was done to inspire the soldiery with a hatred of the captive King, with enthusiasm for the Assembly, with distrust of those Generals who were faithful to the constitution, and with ardour for the support of a new order of things, which should give to the poor the wealth of the rich, and the offices of superiors to their subalterns.

The approach of the enemy, the suspicions which the arming of the emigrants inspired against those of their class, the indignation produced by foreign royal manifestoes, the discontent caused by the want of success in the first military operations, and the

general impulse which had been given since 1789 against the throne and nobility, powerfully seconded the efforts of the commissioners of the Assembly.

Some of the Generals made an ineffectual attempt to oppose reason to passion, fidelity to intrigue, and resistance to revolt. Their adherents, few and lukewarm, were soon swept away by the general delirium. Some officers emigrated, others, protesting against the competency of the Legislative body, declared they would await the decision of the convention.

Bureau de Puzy, Latour Maubourg, and Alexandre Lameth, in vain, exhibited more firmness. La Fayette, braving the menaces of the new government, and resisting the tempting offers, which they made him, desirous of defending to the last moment the constitution to which he had sworn fidelity, caused the municipality of Sédan to arrest the Commissioners of Paris. But soon, abandoned by his army, and informed that they were about to execute the decree of accusation, which had been declared against him, he found himself obliged to fly his country, to avoid the scaffold they were preparing for him.

He invited his three friends, Generals Louis Latour Maubourg, Alexandre Lameth, and the commandant of Engineers, Bureau de Puzy, to come at midnight on the 19th of August into his tent, in order to confer upon important affairs. They there

deliberated on the steps which it was necessary to take. To march upon Paris, and there attempt to crush the growing faction, was to expose themselves and troops to certain destruction; to remain at the head of the army, was to insure the death of the brave men under their command, exposed as they were between two fires; (the enemy on the one side and the Jacobins on the other;) to treat with the enemy was rejected as unworthy and impracticable. It was then decided amongst them, that they would leave an ungrateful country, governed by a faction which sought the destruction of the most pure and respectable of her inhabitants; that they would cross Brabant, and reach Holland, from whence they would embark for the United States of America, and remain there till a new order of things took place.*

Early the next day, the 20th of August, the Commander-in-chief accompanied by his three friends, who had been members of the Constitutional Assembly with him, and who were alone in the secret, together with the aides de camp, and a part of his staff, mounted on horseback, as if to reconnoitre. Arrived at an inn, about two leagues and a half from the camp, he dismounted, and ascended into a room

* I have these details, and the following, which are very little known, from General La Fayette, General Victor Latour Maubourg, and his aides de camp, Auguste Masson, René Pillet, Louis Romœuff, Charles Cadignan, &c. &c.

on the second floor, followed by 23 officers, who had accompanied him. At the same time he ordered the commander of his escort to establish sentinels, in order to prevent a surprise from the enemy's patroles. What was the astonishment of these officers, when the General confided to them, in a concise and energetic discourse, the state of France, the feelings of the army, and that the Duke of Orleans, the society of Jacobins, and the municipality of Paris, had devoted him to proscription; that the corporation of the same city had caused the dies of the medal struck in his honour to be broken by the hands of the common executioner; that, he was declared the enemy of his country, and a price set upon his head! He finished, by telling them of his determination to quit the country for a time, and that he should consider as her enemy, any man who should propose to march against her; that he had rather perish a thousand times, than allow the blood of a single one of his fellow citizens to be shed on his account.

Notwithstanding this injunction, these young soldiers unanimously declared, that there was but one way left to save their country and their General, which was to march directly upon Paris, and to disperse the Jacobin faction at once. Amongst the most strenuous on this subject, were the aides de camp and staff officers, Victor Latour Maubourg,

the younger brother of General Louis Maubourg, René Pillet, Auguste Masson de Laumois, Gouvion junior, the two brothers, Romœuff, Cadignan, &c. &c. The General ordered, and even supplicated, these officers to return to the camp, that their absence might not be injurious to them. In vain he represented to them all the dangers to which they exposed themselves and families in emigrating; nothing could oppose the resolution of Louis and Victor Latour Maubourg, Bureau de Puzy, Alexandre Lameth, Auguste Masson, René Pillet, and Cadignan,* to accompany their General and friend, and share his fortune. His faithful valet-de-chambre, Felix Pontonnier, and Augustus D——, one of his servants, who since voluntarily shared all his imprisonments from Luxemburg to Olmutz, were eager to follow their master. The rest were persuaded by the General to return, and to take with them his escort, consisting of 150 men from the 24th regiment of cavalry, who at first refused to leave their Commander-in-chief and their brave Colonel Victor Latour Maubourg.

* All these gentlemen, with the exception of Generals Louis Maubourg, Lameth, and Col. de Puzy, believed this movement of the Commander-in-chief to have been made solely for the purpose of reconnoitring, and of course took neither baggage nor money with them. Even La Fayette himself had not two hundred louis in his possession.

La Fayette at length set out, with his seven companions, harassed with disagreeable reflections upon his situation, that of his family and country, and upon the dangers which threatened him. After a rapid and uninterrupted journey, they arrived towards night in the neighborhood of an advanced guard of Austrians. Here they halted, and deliberated upon the steps to be taken. It was nearly eleven o'clock, none of them knew the road, and the darkness was so great as to render it impossible to find it. In this state of embarrassment, fearful at the same time of being pursued and overtaken by the French, they determined at all risks to proceed, and without discovering their names or rank, to demand of the Austrian commander, permission to pass him, and take refuge in Holland, at that time a neutral territory. This resolution being taken, Col. de Puzy, the only individual who understood German, advanced towards the Austrian officer, who received him very politely. He informed him that he and his companions had deserted from the French army, finding themselves compelled to leave the country in consequence of intrigue and faction, and desired a safe conduct into Holland. The officer expressed to him, in good French, his regrets that he was unable to give a decided answer without first consulting his superior, but that in the mean time he and his friends

were welcome to rest and refreshment, as the night was cold and rainy. After de Puzy had returned to the General and made his report, they advanced towards the picket, who, at first, alarmed at their numbers, placed themselves in a posture of defence. They soon after set out, accompanied by an escort, for the Austrian head-quarters, and were at length conducted to Luxemburg.

Immediately upon their arrival at this fortress, they were recognised by a crowd of refugees, who, looking upon them as the first promoters of the revolution, treated them with the utmost insolence and contempt. Amongst the most virulent of these enraged emigrants, Prince de Lambes rendered himself notorious by his abuse of La Fayette, who seemed more particularly the object of his hatred. As soon as the Governor of Luxemburg recognised the General and his companions, he confined them in separate chambers at the inn where they had stopped, placing a sentinel at each door. They protested, in vain, against this proceeding, and wrote to the Duke of Saxe Teschen for the purpose of obtaining passports. Their refusal was accompanied by the useless and savage threat of a public execution; and they remained in a state of close confinement till the Governor received orders from the court of Vienna, to deliver them into the hands of the King of Prussia. They were transported in a

common cart, like criminals, under guard of a strong escort of cavalry, during the night, from Luxemburg to Wesel, and confined in the common jails of the country when they found it necessary to stop. The valet-de-chambre of La Fayette alone obtained permission to ride in the same cart with his master. The Austrians sold their horses, arms, &c. and retained the money.

Arrived at Wesel, the populace collected in crowds, and insulted them in the most savage manner. Here they were again put in irons, placed in separate cells in the castle, deprived of all intercourse and exercise, and were daily told "that the King intended to have them hanged for wretches who deserved no favour."

This act of tyranny, exercised over men whose opinions had been received with enthusiasm by the greater part of France, was an additional stain upon the character of Frederick William II., who promised, at the commencement of his reign, so many fine things, and who finished it by the ruin of his country, and the dissipation of an immense treasure, amassed by the great Frederick with so much care. What shall we say of the miserable Austrian monarch, who, like a sergeant of police, consented to surrender these illustrious refugees without shame or remorse!

The consequences of these cruelties were eventual-

ly as mischievous to those who committed them as to those who suffered. Prussia and Austria plainly indicated by this, the violent measures they intended to pursue, should the counter-revolution succeed. These two cabinets were the faithful allies of the Jacobin faction, and certain it is, they did all in their power to serve it; for from that time, a majority of the French nation were confirmed in the fears they had entertained of the projects of the Prussian and Austrian armies, if they ever entered France. Every one feared the resentment of the emigrants of the league. The new government well knew how to avail itself of this disposition to inspire them with zeal. All of the Generals who had before wavered, now obeyed the orders of the Assembly, and the soldiers swore to conquer or die; and the great mass of the nation, rallying around the government, flew to arms to expel this cruel and sanguinary enemy from the country.

Universal indignation was excited. General Washington and his countrymen were filled with grief; they saw in the captive La Fayette the hero of their liberties, and the brave companion of their toils. The government of the United States warmly espoused the cause of the unhappy prisoners. The leading members of the opposition in parliament, Fitzpatrick, Fox, Sheridan, Bedford, and many others, loudly exclaimed against it; but the Eng-

lish Minister remained mute and unmoved, when a single word from him would have freed them. Might not this have been owing to La Fayette's taking so active an interest in the American revolution? This has been openly and repeatedly asserted, and never contradicted, and we leave to posterity to decide whether it be true.

La Fayette suffered excessive apprehension on account of his wife and three children, of whom the eldest was then, at the request of Washington, at Mount Vernon, and at length fell sick. General Maubourg was not permitted to see his friend, though at the point of death. But the disease chanced to take a favourable turn, and he began to recover. The King of Prussia, hoping to profit by his languid state, now offered to meliorate his condition, provided he would betray his country; but he soon learned, by a decided refusal, La Fayette's contempt of his proposition. The rigour of his confinement was then redoubled, and soon after the prisoners were all put into a cart and transported to Magdeburg, and all information relative to their families refused, at a time, too, when the French proscription was at its most alarming height.

In conveying them in this manner, it was thought public scorn would be excited; but this expectation was disappointed. The liveliest interest was every where excited in their behalf. They were con-

fined a whole year at Magdeburg, in a damp, subterranean dungeon; but notwithstanding this, their lot was more tolerable, as they were together, and allowed occasionally to walk an hour on the bastions.

The King of Prussia now ordered La Fayette to be transported to Silesia; Maubourg solicited and obtained permission to accompany him; they were conveyed to Glatz, where soon after Bureau de Puzy followed them. Alexandre Lameth, being dangerously ill, could not be transported along with his companions. His mother, who was distinguished for her virtues, obtained of Frederick William, after much solicitation, permission for him to remain in prison in his states; and when at length peace was declared between this King and the French, she prevailed upon him to grant him his liberty. The King the more readily granted this, because he did not feel himself obliged any longer to use his former caution towards the court of Vienna, now exasperated at him for withdrawing from the league. The prisoners were at length transferred to Neisse, and although their dungeon here was even more miserable and unhealthy than the former ones, yet they rejoiced at the change, because it brought the three prisoners together again, and moreover added to their society Madame Maisonneuve, who voluntarily came to share the fate of her brother Maubourg.

The King of Prussia, in order not to have his

victims snatched out of his possession, when he made peace with France, concluded to send them into Austria. They were accordingly conveyed to Olmutz.

When they reached that place, they were stripped of what little the Prussians had left, which was in fact nothing but their watches and buckles, and two books, in which the word freedom occurred rather more frequently than suited the government; whereupon La Fayette inquired "if they were contraband." They were each informed, as they were incarcerated in their separate cells, that they would never again see any thing but the four walls of their prison house; that they would never again hear a human voice; that their very names were proscribed, and that in future they would be designated in despatches to government by the numbers of their respective cells; and, lest they should destroy themselves, knives, forks, and every thing that could be used for the purpose, would be interdicted.

The three prisoners, thus abandoned to their miserable reflections, were immured in the dungeons of the ancient castle of the Jesuits, the walls of which are twelve feet thick; and into which air is admitted through an opening two feet square, which is secured at each end by transverse massive iron bars. Immediately before these loop holes was a broad ditch, which was covered with water only when it rained, and at other times was a stagnant marsh,

from which a poisonous effluvium was constantly exhaling; and beyond this were the outer walls of the castle, which prevented the slightest breeze from passing to the captives in these horrid dungeons, although the heat was almost intolerable. On these walls were, in the daytime, four, and at night, eight sentinels, with loaded muskets, constantly watching the prisoners, and forbidden, on pain of one hundred lashes, to speak a word with them, and with orders to shoot them dead if they attempted an escape. The cellar of this castle had a large saloon, two hundred feet long and twelve wide, in which was kept a guard consisting of an officer and twenty-five men, and a corporal and four soldiers, who alternately kept guard before the door of the prisoners. These soldiers were forbidden, while on duty, either to sing, speak, or whistle.

As this castle had served for a prison for four years previously to La Fayette's confinement, there had been constructed for each cell two doors, one of iron, the other of wood, near two feet thick. Both were covered with bolts, and bars, and double padlocks. Every time the Inspector of the prisons entered, the whole guard stood to their arms. Four men were posted at each side of the door; the sergeant with his sword drawn remained without, while the officer of the guard entered the inner door, with his sword also drawn. The men crossed their bayo-

nets, while the Inspector examined every corner and crevice with the greatest minuteness. When the jailer entered with their wretched pittance, twice a day, it was scrupulously examined, particularly the bread, which was crumbled to pieces for the purpose, by the officer on guard, to discover if there was any note or communication whatever contained in it. A wretched bed of rotten straw, filled with vermin, together with a broken chair, and an old worm-eaten table, formed the whole furniture of each apartment. The cells were eight or ten paces deep, and six or eight wide; and when it rained, the water ran through the loop holes and off the walls in such quantities, that they would sometimes wake in the morning, wet to the skin. A miserable lamp lighted them in the night, and when the sun did not shine, which happened very frequently in this wet country, the prisoners remained almost in total darkness during the whole day. Such was the situation of these three illustrious men; and the faithful fellows, Felix and Augustus, who had followed their master through all his reverses, fared no better. The barbarous Austrians, born and nurtured in slavery, were dead to all virtuous feeling, and sneered at their attachment to their master. Once in a while, indeed, they were allowed to visit him, but not to approach within the door, and always with the accustomed ceremonies.

CHAPTER X.

SENSATION produced abroad in consequence of the cruel treatment of La Fayette, Louis Latour Maubourg and Bureau de Puzy. Proceedings of the government of the United States. Debates in the English Parliament. Conduct of the Germans. Dr. Bollmann, and his departure from Hamburg to Olmutz and Vienna. Project of Huger and Bollmann to rescue La Fayette from his confinement at Olmutz. Situation of the friends of the prisoners confined at Olmutz. Other particulars new and characteristic.*

THE government of the United States, the illustrious Washington filling at the time the presidential chair, had, in repeated memorials to the cabinets of Vienna, Berlin and St. James, claimed the imprisoned La Fayette as an American citizen, and Major General of the American army.

* We have attentively read the accounts which have been given of the attempts of Bollmann and Huger, to release General La Fayette from the prison of Olmutz, as they are published in the *Histoire des principaux événemens du règne de Frèderic Guillaume II.*, &c. by the Count de Segur, (vol. III. p. 299,) in *the Memoires pour servir à le vie du Gen. La Fayette, par M. Regnault, (Warin,*

All the three courts, however, persisted in maintaining an inflexible silence. The conduct of the two first, inhuman and disgraceful as it was, need occasion no sort of surprise. The autocrats of Austria and Prussia, sworn enemies of every liberal and philosophic sentiment, and of all opinions favourable to the sacred rights of man, had great reason to fear, to hate, and to persecute men, who, like La Fayette, had explicitly and fearlessly avowed them. They had good reason to apprehend that their tottering thrones, upheld exclusively by tyranny and terror, would fall to the ground, the moment that their subjects could conceive the idea of imitating America and France in the example of their glorious enterprises.

Paris, 1824, volume I. p. 265, 266,) and also in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1809, (p. 514 ;) and the reader, in comparing these accounts with ours, will no doubt be struck with the difference. The reason is simple. Mine is the result of nearly 20 months of personal exertion in aiding the attempt to effect the release of the General and his friends from the dungeons of Olmutz ; in the course of which I was four times at Olmutz, twice at Braunseiffen, in the very house where General La Fayette was arrested, with Dr. Bollmann. I have had more than twenty personal interviews with Mr. Sieveking at Hamburg, the banker Hirst, General Baron de Schroter, governor of Olmutz, Count Maquelico, Inspector of the Prisons, the head surgeon of the garrison of Olmutz, Mr. Kreutske, professor Passy, all of whom personally assisted Bollmann and Huger in this enterprise. This chapter and the following constitute the results of these conversations, and General La Fayette himself has assured me of the exactness of the particulars therein detailed ; on which account I flatter myself they will be read with considerable interest and pleasure.

But the silence of the British Ministry is altogether inconceivable; particularly when we reflect that the inhabitants of Great Britain, so tenacious of their rights, and so proud of their *limited* liberty, formed high anticipations from the exertions of those representatives who spoke with so much feeling of the melancholy situation of La Fayette, and who directed the thunders of their eloquence against this barefaced violation of the rights of nations, and insolent contempt of the laws of civilized communities.

On the 17th March, 1794, General Fitzpatrick, in a long and very able speech delivered in the British House of Commons, introduced to the notice of the house the melancholy situation of M. La Fayette, which, as he observed, had long excited the commiseration of every friend to humanity and freedom. It was his opinion, that justice and policy equally required the interference of England, who was in honour bound to make every effort to effect his deliverance.*

* The following is an abstract of the debate on this subject, as it is reported in the New Annual Register for 1794, p. 161. It cannot but prove interesting to every friend of liberty, and admirer of La Fayette:

General Fitzpatrick observed, that the disapprobation shown by the minister on a former night, when it had been mentioned in the house that the king of Prussia refused to liberate Mons. de la Fayette and three other state prisoners, on the ground that they were the prisoners of the allied powers, was sufficient to exempt the character of the British nation from the odium of having any share in so execrable a transaction. He thought, however, that humani-

Many of the periodical publications of England spoke loudly in behalf of the prisoners, and express-

ty, justice and policy required an interference from this country, in behalf of this unfortunate man. The General entered into a very able review of the whole conduct of Mons. de la Fayette—his firm attachment to the constitution of 1789, which had been approved by this country—his loyalty, which was proved by the most signal services to the royal family—and his refusal to join the republican party, though allured by every honour which could flatter his ambition. On this party obtaining the ascendency, what was his conduct? He resolved no longer to head the army, though he would not lead it against his country, but posted them so advantageously that General Clairfait was deterred from attacking it. When commissioners came to remove him from the command of the army, still faithful to the constitution and monarchy he had sworn to defend, he consigned them to the civil power. He soon afterwards passed the frontier, with a determination not to join the enemies of his country, and this was the cause of his dungeon and his sufferings. On neutral ground (the bishopric of Liege) he was taken prisoner, and transferred to a fortress belonging to the King of Prussia, where he was offered his liberty, on condition of joining the army of the French princes. This he refused; and then the officers of the King of Prussia claimed him as a prisoner of their master, not as a prisoner of war. La Fayette, and three other gentlemen, who had been members of the constituent Assembly, were now confined in filthy and unwholesome dungeons, without the liberty of breathing the fresh air more than one hour in a day, and debarred from all communication with each other. The General humanely urged the obligation which this country lay under to protect Mons. La Fayette, according to the proclamation of the 29th October, which promised protection to all who should throw off anarchy and declare for monarchy. If we refused to interfere, what dependence could the royalists place upon our promises? He urged that the conduct of Mons. La Fayette in America ought to be no bar to such an interposition, as we should have been happy to have saved by such a step, the life of Louis the Sixteenth, whose conduct in the

ed their unqualified astonishment that ministers had hitherto taken no steps to obtain their release. There

American war would never have been thought of as an obstacle. The General continued to urge the policy and humanity of this interference, and mentioned the intention of the President of the United States to make an application in favour of the unhappy prisoner. He concluded by moving for an address to his majesty, stating, that the detention of Mons. de la Fayette and his three friends in prison, by order of the King of Prussia, was injurious to his Majesty and the cause of his allies, and beseeching him to intercede for their deliverance in such a way as he in his wisdom shall judge proper.

This motion was seconded by Colonel Tarleton, who gallantly expatiated upon the merits of a General who had once been his adversary.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer denied that the four persons mentioned in the motion ever were the real friends of liberty, and thought their detention no infraction of the law of nations. The question, he said, was, whether this country was implicated to interfere from motives of justice, honour and policy? The interference required, would be setting ourselves up as guardians of the consciences of foreign states. This country had, he said, no participation in the matter, since Mons. La Fayette had been taken prisoner before we were a party in the war. With respect to the gentlemen being entitled to the protection of this country on account of the proclamation at Toulon, that declaration was addressed only to such as were willing to come as friends and supporters of the genuine cause of liberty. This was not the case with M. La Fayette and his friends. He should, he said, oppose the motion, as equally improper and unnecessary.

Mr. Fox thought it was difficult to say which was the most extraordinary, that this country should hesitate to interfere, or that the court of Berlin should exercise such abominable tyranny. On the pretext alleged for continuing the treatment received by M. de la Fayette, that he was the prisoner of the allied powers, not to in-

was heard throughout the nation a general expression of strong disapprobation; but their sympathy was

terfere was to be implicated in the odium, and to be handed down to posterity as accomplices in the diabolical cruelty of the Prussian cabinet. Mr. Fox stated that these unfortunate prisoners were confined in separate apartments, suffered only to breathe the fresh air one hour in a day, confined in a subterraneous cavern, in which the only light came from a confined and dreary court, where the execution of malefactors was the only spectacle. In this dreary situation they had still one comfort, that of thinking themselves confined under the same roof; but this consolation was put an end to, by the removal of two of them to another prison; and the request of M. La Fayette to the King of Prussia, that M. Latour Maubourg might remain in the same prison with him, was denied. As a proof that we might interfere in such a case, Mr. Fox cited the instance of an application made from this country to the court of France, in the case of Capt. Asgill. He did not, however, conceive that any authority was requisite on the present occasion. He mentioned that M. La Fayette was neither treated as a prisoner of war nor as a prisoner of state. The King of Prussia had repeatedly declared him and his friends prisoners to the allied powers, and that he could not be released but by their consent; there was no way for those powers to clear themselves from such an imputation, but by declaring their disavowal of the whole proceeding. National honour and policy required this. M. La Fayette, he contended, stood exactly in the same predicament with those to whom protection had been offered by this country. Had he staid in France, and come forward on the proclamation at Toulon, could we then have refused him protection? Mr. Fox mentioned, in pointed terms, the abominable treachery by which La Fayette had been captured. Of his company, consisting of forty persons, all but himself and three others, who had been members of the constituent Assembly, were released. No man could, he said, point out that part of the law of nations, by which the subjects of one independent nation could be made prisoners of state by the sovereign of another, for offences committed, or supposed to be committed, in

exerted in vain. William Pitt, that cold, unfeeling calculator, was at the head of the administration, and La Fayette remained in chains.* It even appears that the Prussian and Austrian governments augmented the sufferings of their unhappy prison-

their own country; it could only be done by the law of tyrants, which condemns all principles, human and divine.

Mr. Burke strongly opposed the motion, on the ground that no precedent existed of such an interference, and that it was improper, as we had forborne to interfere in preventing the numerous massacres, &c. in France. Of these calamities, he considered M. La Fayette as the origin, and the author of all the miseries that had befallen France. He ridiculed all interference on this occasion, and arraigned, in his usual unqualified terms, the whole conduct of the unhappy sufferers.

On a division of the house, the ayes were 46, noes 153.

* We here subjoin an extract from a curious and jesuitical speech delivered by this Minister in the House of Commons, in February, 1790:—

"The present convulsion of France must, sooner or later, terminate in general harmony and regular order; and notwithstanding that the fortunate arrangements of such a situation might make her more formidable, it might also render her less obnoxious as a neighbour. He hoped that he might rather wish, as an Englishman, for that, respecting the accomplishment of which, he felt himself interested as a man; for the restoration of the tranquillity of France, though it appeared to him as distant. *Whenever the situation of France should become restored*, it would prove freedom rightly understood; freedom resulting from good order and good government: and thus circumstanced, France would stand forward as one of the most brilliant powers in Europe; she would enjoy that just kind of liberty which he venerated, and the invaluable existence which it was his duty, as an Englishman, particularly to cherish; nor would he, under this predicament, regard with envious eyes the ap-

ers, in proportion to the extent of the sympathy, and the loudness of the remonstrance, those sufferings excited.

In Germany, too, there were few who wrote, who did not warmly embrace the cause of La Fayette. On his way from Wesel to Magdeburg, from there to Glatz, and to Neisse, the arrival of this hero of liberty was everywhere met with marks of admiration and love; a conduct the more honourable to those who thus displayed their regard, as they incurred the hazard of dying the martyrs of their compassion and humanity. But no one among them gave such proofs of his affection as Henry Bollmann, a young German physician, born at Göttingen, in the ci-devant electorate of Hanover. This brave and generous young man, not content with offering the feeble and doubtful testimony of words and writings, proved his courage and attachment to La Fayette, whom he had never seen, by the indubitable evidence of facts.

Bollmann had just received his degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of Göttingen, and possessed but a very limited fortune. Scarcely 24 years of age, he was so struck with the noble con-

proximation, in neighbouring states, of those sentiments which were the characteristic features of every British subject," &c.

We will leave to the intelligent and impartial reader to decide how far the subsequent conduct of William Pitt corresponded with these magnanimous and high sounding declarations.

duct of La Fayette, in America and France, and so exasperated at the barbarous treatment of this illustrious man, that he resolved at last to attempt his rescue, at the hazard of his life. He sold his little stock of books, with every thing of value he possessed, and in the dress of a German travelling student, with his knapsack on his back, walked from Göttingen to Haarburg, crossed the Elbe, and arrived at Hamburg in the beginning of 1794. He had furnished himself with several letters of introduction, and among these was one for Dr. Reimarus. There was something so pleasing and prepossessing in the physiognomy of Bollmann, his manners were so easy, engaging and polite, and in every thing he said there was so much animation and good sense, set off by an agreeable tinge of romantic sensibility, that he was soon introduced into the best society of this flourishing city, at that time enjoying, from its acknowledged neutrality, an almost incalculable commerce.

Reimarus introduced his friend into the family of the wealthy Mr. Sieveking, his son-in-law. This merchant, besides being a liberal philanthropist, and a generous lover and patron of the arts, was a great admirer of General La Fayette, although, like Bollmann, he had never seen him. Sieveking's house was at this time the rendezvous of strangers distinguished not for their birth nor their riches, but

for their talents and personal merit. Bollmann soon gained the friendship and confidence of this exemplary man, and, knowing well his liberal sentiments and high integrity, ventured to hint his benevolent intentions.

Sieveking listened with eagerness, and asked a day's consideration before he made up his mind. Having at the end of this time concluded to assist him, he gave Bollmann a letter of introduction to the banker, Hirsch, at Olmutz, a purse of 300 Danish ducats, or 600 dollars, and a letter of credit for 10,000 florins of Austria, to enable him to make the necessary preparations. He told him besides that Mr. Hirsch was his most intimate friend, and a person on whom he could rely with unlimited confidence.

Such was the character of this generous and extraordinary man, who is now no longer living; scarcely more lamented in his death by his afflicted family, than by every other citizen of Hamburg, in whose interests he had ever evinced the most unwearied and patriotic zeal.

Sieveking also took care to provide his young friend with a passport, as a subject of the King of Great Britain, and this proved, in the end, of valuable assistance. He advised him, at the same time, not to go further than Dresden on foot, but to purchase there a handsome berlin, and to pass the Austrian frontiers in his own carriage. In that case, he added, he would be treated like a gentleman; whereas, by travelling

through Prussia or Austria on foot, he would lay himself open to suspicion, and probably incur very disagreeable consequences.

As soon as Hirsch had perused the note which his friend and correspondent, Sieveking, had sent him, he immediately offered the doctor the 10,000 florins mentioned in the letter of credit. Of this Bollmann only took a part, and remained a fortnight at Olmutz without being able to accomplish any thing, as there was no possible way of approaching the prisoners. Hirsch, who was a wealthy Jew, and a liberal-minded man, (to the honour of his nation be it spoken,) much as he admired and venerated La Fayette, could not, in his circumstances, openly avow himself in favour of an enemy of government. He had a family and fortune; and, independent of his bank, was largely engaged in commercial speculations. Of course, it could not be expected, that he would consent to risk the loss of all his property, which, by openly protecting La Fayette, he must of necessity incur. He was not the less industrious, however, in his concealed exertions to assist him. He represented to Bollmann, that his first step must be the selection of a faithful friend, on whom he could rely, as the depository of his secret, and the partner of his enterprise; that, in the mean time, he would devise the best means of facilitating his purposes; that, as the task was as difficultas it was dangerous, he must

be as patient as he was circumspect, but that he did believe, with a union of perseverance, prudence, and good fortune, he might assure himself of eventual success. He advised him, for the present, to leave the place immediately; in order to avoid the suspicions of the police, who had already made frequent inquiries with respect to his person, condition in life, and business at Olmutz. It seems, the doctor, on his arrival at the hotel of the Three Swans, had made to the landlord and one of the servants, several remarks respecting La Fayette, which were immediately represented to the police, and excited considerable suspicions.

Mr. Hirsch was called upon, and interrogated as to what he knew of the stranger. To these inquiries, he very calmly replied, that Dr. Bollmann was a Hanoverian and a British subject, that he was very well acquainted with his family, that he had been for some time past engaged in business with his father, who had now sent his son to Olmutz to settle his accounts; that before this could be done, he would be obliged to go to Vienna, and that, in short, the questions that Bollmann had asked, were nothing more than the natural result of a young man's curiosity. These words, pronounced with a tone of easy indifference, produced the intended effect; and as Mr. Hirsch was generally esteemed and respected, and a friend of the president of police, the suspicions

of the Arguses were lulled, and Bollmann, by the advice of the banker, set off in two days for Vienna, where he expected to find, among the American travellers, a partner in his perilous enterprise.

Taking with him a letter on Oxs Geymuller, a banker at Vienna, for the remainder of the 10,000 florins, he soon reached the end of his journey, and took lodgings immediately in a hotel where he knew he would find a number of Americans. After studying their characters for several weeks, he thought he recognised the man he wanted in the person of Francis Huger, a son of Colonel Huger of Charlestown, the first American who had received the young Marquis at his first arrival in America. This young gentleman united many excellent qualities beyond his age, to a large share of activity and courage, together with the most unbounded admiration for the illustrious friend of his father.

Dr. Bollmann had scarcely intimated his purpose when Huger seized his hand with the warmest enthusiasm, and assured him he might command his services to the last of his blood and his breath. They immediately proceeded to arrange their plans. Bollmann procured the amount of his letter of credit, and Huger converted a large sum of money into gold, and made choice of a faithful domestic. They then purchased three good horses, and left Vienna for the ostensible purpose of seeking a change of

air, and of examining the neighbouring country. In this way they travelled for upwards of five weeks, visiting the environs in various directions, and pretending that Huger was unwell, and was travelling with his physician Bollmann, to the Bohemian and Silesian springs. Under this pretext, they surveyed the frontiers which separate Moravia from what was formerly Austrian, and is now Prussian Silesia, and examined with particular care the great road leading from Olmutz to Troppau. In all this time their movements created no suspicion, as Huger, before leaving Vienna, had taken the precaution to file his papers, and Bollmann had carefully renewed his own by means of the English ambassador at Vienna. By this arrangement there seemed to be nothing extraordinary in the circumstance, that two young Englishmen (for Huger passed easily everywhere as an English nobleman) should travel on horseback through a country which they were desirous of closely examining, in order to find the place best calculated for the restoration of the young lord's health. The better to maintain this opinion, they had dressed their servant in the rich livery of an English jockey, and in this disguise they finally arrived at Olmutz in September, 1794.

Bollmann, who was already known as a physician of Hanover, took lodgings with Huger and his servant at his former hotel; and gave out that he had

made a handsome sum of money in undertaking the cure of a young Englishman, who had been recommended to his care in a very particular manner. He said this with such an appearance of truth and sincerity, that nobody thought of suspecting him. Here he was informed by Mr. Hirsch, that he had the good fortune to meet with a very worthy man, who could render them essential services, which he had in fact already undertaken to perform. This was no other than Kreutschke, the head surgeon of the garrison, a Bohemian by birth, and one who sincerely deplored the situation of the unfortunate La Fayette. Hirsch has frequently told me how he first ascertained the sentiments of Kreutschke. Kreutschke was the banker's physician and friend. A few days subsequent to the departure of Doctor Bollmann for Vienna, the two friends being alone after dinner, Hirsch sent for a bottle of excellent old Tokay,* and proposed to empty it between them.

* Tokay wine is the produce of a small district of the same name in Hungary. It somewhat resembles Malaga, but is neither so sweet nor so thick, and its flavour is remarkably fine. There is but 300 tons of it produced annually, of which 200 are reserved for the emperor of Austria, and the remaining 100 distributed among the noblemen of the neighbourhood, who sell it at exorbitant prices. It improves greatly by age, and is preserved in small bottles carefully sealed. The price is from 3 to 4 Kremnitz ducats, or from 6 to 8 dollars a bottle. It is even scarcer than the famous Neapolitan wine, Lachrymæ Christi.

This was an invitation not to be rejected by Kreutschke who was a great lover of good wine, and particularly of Tokay. The conversation at first turned upon indifferent subjects, until Hirsch found the Doctor begin to grow animated. Hethen inquired, with an air of indifference, respecting the health of La Fayette, who, he understood, had been very unwell, adding that it was to be hoped he would not recover, for he richly deserved to die. The words had scarcely passed his lips, when the Doctor, placing the glass which he held in his hand on the table, gazed at his friend for some minutes, with an appearance of astonishment; then shaking his head, replied, with great gravity, "Hirsch, I should not have believed that of you? Is this the way you slander a brave man, whose only crime has been, a wish to see his country free and happy? And must I, Kreutschke, a true-hearted Bohemian,* must I submit to such an

* Those who are well acquainted with the history of this part of Europe, need not be informed that the Bohemians have at all times shown a stubborn and independent opposition to the encroachments of tyranny. History shows us, that in every part of the old and the new world, the inhabitants of mountainous districts have ever exhibited a spirit of independence, more strongly marked than is found among the inhabitants of plains. Of this fact, the Bohemians in Austria, the Auvergnats in France, the Savoyards in Italy, the Highlanders in Scotland, the Tyrolese and Hartzois in Germany, the Swiss, and the Araucanians in Chili, furnish abundant and convincing testimony.

indignity? Hirsch! Hirsch! you have shamefully deceived me!" Hirsch, who as may be imagined, was delighted at this sally, resolved to sound him further. "But of what service," said he, "are all these fine words, when no one can, and no one will do any thing for him! Whether La Fayette be as criminal, or not, as they represent him to be, is of very little consequence; for he must die soon, if he remains in prison!" At this Kreutschke started up in great agitation, and strode up and down the room several times without speaking.

After some time he sat down again, and looking Mr. Hirsch steadfastly in the face, drew his chair closer, and said, in a low tone of voice, after throwing his eyes cautiously around him, "Hirsch! I have known you and loved you these twenty years, and I believe you are a man of honour. I have, as you very well know, a wife and children, and thank God, an honourable situation, which my gracious sovereign has chosen to confide to my charge. You may ruin me, if you choose, but I have something heavy at my heart, and I can keep it there no longer. Our gracious Emperor (or as he expressed himself in the Austrian patois, *unser gnaadiger Koser)* does wrong to imprison these gentlemen, for they have done nothing against him, nor against the King of Prussia." After a great deal of precaution, on the part of Hirsch, who was perfectly acquainted with this excellent Bohemian, but was always on

his guard against surprises,* he finally told Kreutschke, that there were several persons greatly interested in the fate of General La Fayette, who had empowered him to offer a thousand fiorins to any man who would engage to transmit, from time to time, to the General, such information as he might require. Kreutschke promised his assistance, and separated.

A few days after, the surgeon came to Hirsch, to tell him, there had occurred to him a difficulty, which was not how to communicate information to the prisoner, but how to write it first, for neither he nor Hirsch could write or speak a word of French or English, and the General, unfortunately, could not read German. After looking awhile at Hirsch, who stood greatly embarrassed and perplexed, the Doctor struck him on the shoulder, and told him, with an appearance of great satisfaction, that he had a friend, who could write French very well, and who had promised to be their secretary. Hirsch was at first very much alarmed, to find that a third

* This distrust on the part of Mr. Hirsch will create no surprise, when we inform our readers, that there existed in Austria, under the government of Thugut and Saurau, (see chap. xii.) a police so severe, that brother no longer confided in brother, and that there was, besides this, an opposition police. The reader will see farther, in the particulars of the history of M. Huber, the dreadful effects of the reign of terror, under these two Ministers.

person had been admitted into the secret, but his apprehensions were speedily quieted, when he found that Passy was the man. As M. Passy has rendered the most signal services to the three prisoners, and to their families, and their friends, particularly to Madame de la Fayette and her two daughters, the reader will, I hope, not think it amiss, if I make him acquainted with this excellent man, who would never consent to receive the smallest recompense for his services; and whose name we shall have frequently occasion to mention in the course of this history. I ought first to mention, that the real name of this gentleman, which was known only to the few who were in the secret, was Warsler, and not Passy, which was a name assumed to avoid discovery; as General La Fayette's was Gilbert, mine Feldman, and Colonel Latour Maubourg's Mann. When I saw Professor Passy, for the first time, he appeared to me to be a man of about thirty-two years of age, with an open, intelligent countenance, fine complexion, and large black animated and expressive eyes. He dressed in the extreme of the mode; silk stockings, silk small-clothes, embroidered waistcoat, black coat, and hair elegantly curled and powdered. The Professor even went so far as to perfume himself; and I must acknowledge this attire, which resembled, in all respects, that of the most exquisite petit-maître of Paris, at first gave

me a very unfavourable opinion of the wearer, notwithstanding the strong assurances which Madame de la Fayette had given me of his worth, in one of the notes which, during my occasional visits to Olmutz, I frequently received from her prison. But, as soon as he offered me his hand, with his peculiarly frank and prepossessing air; as soon as he spoke, with his interesting enthusiasm, of the General, and particularly of the General's wife, in whose praises his eloquence seemed almost inexhaustible, I could no longer withhold my admiration of his generous heart and exalted sentiments. He showed me, among other things, a beautiful purse, which Madame de la Fayette and her daughters had embroidered with the General's cipher and their own. He told me, as he drew it carefully wrapped up from a hiding-place under his bed, that this was his talisman, his only, his abundant recompense for all the sleepless nights he had passed, in the dreadful apprehension of discovery; and that he asked for nothing more on earth, than before he died, to throw himself at Madame de la Fayette's feet, to assure her of the warmth, and purity, and strength, of his unalterable affection. I could not help mentioning this conversation to Mr. and Madame de la Fayette, who afterwards, at Wettmoldt, and at Paris, called it frequently to my recollection, lamenting, at the same time, that they received no intelligence of their

excellent friend. He had promised to join us with all possible speed. The reader will soon be informed of the cause of his delay.

Passy, for some time before the arrival of Bollmann and Huger, during their stay at Olmutz, and up to the moment of La Fayette's deliverance, had been the guide and adviser of all who were concerned in the fate of the prisoners. He was a native of Trieste, appointed professor of philosophy at the college of Olmutz, an unmarried man, and in the receipt of a respectable salary from the Austrian government. In easy circumstances, and with an unspotted reputation, he lived in great retirement, absorbed in literary pursuits, and particularly fond of Italian poetry.

The head surgeon was a very intimate friend of Passy's, and found no difficulty in gaining him over. Kreutschke had already received a part of the thousand florins; but Passy absolutely refused to listen to the name of compensation. The question next arose, how they should communicate to the General the intentions of Bollmann; for Captain Brauers, who was the superintendent of the prisons, was a perfect Austrian, deaf to all entreaties, of a coarse, harsh, and unfeeling temper; and so far from lending his assistance, would, no doubt, instantly acquaint the police of their designs. This difficulty was removed by the address and ability

of Passy, who had influence enough to obtain the appointment of the Count de Maquelico, in place of the Austrian Captain, shortly after Madame de la Fayette's arrival at Olmutz.

Kreutschke was a good man enough, but with neither education nor talents. He was unable, himself, to devise a plan to convey to the General the note they had written, and agreed to follow exactly the Professor's advice. The head surgeon, having occasion to see General Count d'Arco, of whom I shall hereafter more particularly speak, asked permission to make a medical visit to the prisoners, to ascertain the state of their health; a thing which, in the prisons of Olmutz, was done only once in three months! The Governor consented, and appointed the next morning at nine; being the hour when the superintendent was accustomed to make his ordinary visit. The Doctor went immediately to communicate the good news to Passy and Hirsch; and the three friends had a secret interview, in a retired room of Mr. Hirsch's spacious house, precisely at midnight. It was here agreed, to advise La Fayette to feign indisposition, and whenever the superintendent or jailer entered his prison, to request that a medical man should be sent for. Passy accordingly wrote a note, in which he conveyed this advice, along with the information of the arrival of several friends, but without mentioning their names. The following

morning, the Doctor, in company with the superintendent, made the nine o'clock visit, after the ceremonies and precautions I have already described. With his note carefully folded and properly prepared in his hand, he approached La Fayette, and began to feel his pulse; then waiting for a convenient opportunity, he slipped the note into the General's hand, warning him by signs, not to appear to be conscious of what he was doing. After holding his arm for a considerable time, he turned to the superintendent and the officer of the guards, and told them, gravely, that the patient seemed very much agitated, and would probably require to be bled. As soon as La Fayette felt the note in his hands, he was seized, as he has frequently told me, with a violent trembling, changed colour repeatedly, and shut his hand with a convulsive grasp. These appearances strongly confirmed the opinion of the surgeon; the two officers reported to the Governor, that the General was certainly very unwell; and the stratagem succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectations.

La Fayette, as may well be imagined, eagerly devoured the contents of the note, the first he had received since his arrival at Olmutz. On the back of it, he wrote with his blood, an answer to Passy, and the next day conveyed it, in the manner it was received, into the hands of the Doctor.

In order to get rid of the troublesome and dangerous presence of the superintendent, he alleged that the usual hour of visiting the prisoners was very inconvenient for his hospital patients; and at last, after much solicitation, obtained permission to go alone, and at any hour of the day. In this way, he gradually furnished the General with pen, ink and paper; and contrived to supply him, from time to time, with wine, chocolate, and various other articles of which his patient stood greatly in need. For as all the officers of the guard were greatly attached to their surgeon, who was really a very kind, good-hearted, and accommodating man, they frequently left him alone with the prisoner, and seldom troubled him with unpleasant inquiries. Availing himself of this relaxation of the prison regulations, he brought him, every now and then, a bottle of wine, which he told the guard was medicine for the patient, taking care at the same time to affix to each bottle a large label, as if to prescribe the manner of taking it.

We flatter ourselves that our readers will not complain of the minuteness of these details, as well on account of their intrinsic interest, as because they serve to show the artifices which it was necessary to employ, to blind the eyes of so many observers; and because they prove, that even under the despotic government of Austria, there were found many

warm and zealous friends of the unhappy victims of her arbitrary tyranny.

The plans of Hirsch, Passy, and Kreutschke were very much favoured by the circumstance, that Count d'Arco, the Governor of Olmutz, entertained in secret, friendly feelings towards the unfortunate prisoners; and, as we shall show farther on, was always delighted to obtain an opportunity to diminish their sufferings, without daring, however, to incur the displeasure of the Austrian cabinet. Thugut and Saurau, who, it was generally believed, were sold to the Court of St. James, had issued the strictest orders with respect to the treatment of the prisoners; and Hirsch has often told me, that the Governor, who was his intimate friend, had frequently declared, that their situation was really deplorable, and that if he were not apprehensive of the resentment of his gracious sovereign, he would do much more than he did, to alleviate their melancholy lot.

All the secret instructions* to the Governor with regard to the prisoners, came to him through the Count de Saurau, Minister of Police, who was under the direction of Baron Thugut his friend and protect-

* These instructions were regularly headed, "And his Majesty, our very gracious Emperor and King, commands you," &c. &c. His Majesty, however, on this occasion, was very seldom consulted, and probably knew less of these orders than any of his subjects.

or; so that all the movements of Maquelico were subjected to the most rigid surveillance.

In consequence of this friendly disposition on the part of the Governor, he was persuaded, after long solicitations, to allow General La Fayette to ride in an open carriage beyond the gates of the town. But as the verbal representations of his surgeon were not enough to induce him to assume this serious responsibility, he required Kreutschke to file a written document, in which should be entered his reasons for prescribing change of air to the prisoner, with an enumeration of the circumstances that might call for this occasional indulgence; and the intendent was obliged to confirm, by a written certificate, the representations of the surgeon. These papers were sent to Vienna, and were followed by a permission to General La Fayette, to ride out for change of air as occasion required; accompanied by a positive order from the Minister, that the Governor should always attend him in person, with an armed guard, to prevent the escape of the prisoner.

General La Fayette had now, for a fortnight, enjoyed the privilege of riding out three or four times a week, between five and six o'clock. He has often told me, that notwithstanding his unpleasant situation, he could never help smiling at the pantomimic sympathies of this Austrian Governor, a man of really good feelings, but very old, and very deaf, and very fat. Although quite uneducated, speaking neither

French nor English, and indeed no other language than the Austrian *patois*, he made every effort, by signs, to convince the General of the interest he felt in his misfortunes. As the manners of La Fayette are very prepossessing, he soon made his way into the good graces of the Governor, who would occasionally leave the carriage with him, take his arm, and try to console him. But in all cases the guard was on the watch behind them.

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of Bollmann and Huger at Olmutz. Attempt to effect the escape of General La Fayette. Its consequences, and other particulars, not hitherto known.

Things were in this state, when Bollmann and Huger arrived at Olmutz, on the 15th October, 1794. By means of the correspondence established between General La Fayette and Professor Passy, in the manner detailed in the preceding chapter, the prisoners were enabled to obtain intelligence of their families and friends. The head surgeon effected a similar correspondence with de Maubourg and Puzy, between whom and Passy, communications passed and repassed, which tended very much to dissipate the despondency and gloom of imprisonment. Bollman and Huger found no difficulty in apprising La Fayette of the plan by which they proposed to effect his escape. All the preparatory arrangements were discussed and agreed upon, and the 27th October was the day appointed for the execution of their projected enterprise. As the General had, as yet, seen

neither Huger nor Bollmann, and as neither of them had seen him, it was agreed that the two young men should ride out on horseback together, beyond the gates of the town, a thing which they had frequently done before, without being in the least suspected; and that one of them should take a white handkerchief out of his pocket as soon as they fell in with the carriage, which they would easily recognise by the guard which was always behind it.

The young men had taken the precaution to send their servant to Troppau to request a friend, on whom they placed the greatest reliance, to keep a post chaise with two strong horses in readiness, at a place three miles distant from the Moravian frontier, this side of the Prussian territory. Their object was to abandon their horses on reaching this spot, to throw themselves into the chaise, pass Troppau, and in this way reach Saxony, where they would have been in perfect safety.

Accordingly, on the day appointed, Bollmann and Huger mounted their horses at four in the afternoon, as if to take their accustomed ride; but in spite of all their precaution, they committed the great oversight of not bringing a third horse with them. I have been since told, that this was done in order to avoid suspicion; and if we put ourselves a moment in their place, we must acknowledge that this apprehension was very natural and very reasonable. I

am very far from feeling any disposition to censure their arrangements; and merely make this remark, in order to show that in all critical and decisive moments, success is frequently defeated by a superfluity of caution.

Doctor Bollmann had, on the preceding evening, written to the General, advising him to endeavour to walk as far as he could beyond his usual limits; and when the Governor should propose to return to the carriage, to ask permission, under some pretext, to retire to a distance for an instant. He added, that he would remain on his more vigorous horse, while Huger, who was more active, would leave his, and assist the General to mount behind Bollmann. That Huger would then have time to mount his own, and to follow his friends; and that, finally, the General might depend on their perfect knowledge of the roads.

The fortress of Olmutz is situated about thirty miles from the frontiers of Silesia, in the centre of a plain, which extends itself in all directions to the distance of three miles. On one side is a stream of water, on the other a strip of marshy ground; on the remaining two a considerable extent of country covered with stones, and several hills skirted with underwood and brush; so that from the ramparts, it is easy to see every thing that occurs in any of the roads, within three miles of the place. The

highway that leads from Olmutz to Troppau, is wide and well made, until you reach a small rising ground, about eleven miles distance from Olmutz. There the road forks, and the highway becomes so narrow, that it would generally be mistaken for a by-road. The government had here erected a pointer or sign post, with two arms; the left one directing to Braunseiffen, and the right to Troppau. The first of these roads led into the interior of Moravia, and of course continued within the Austrian territory; the second would have carried them into Silesia, which was Prussian territory, where they would have been perfectly safe.

Doctor Bollmann, as we have already mentioned, had, on the preceding day, reconnoitered all the neighbouring country; and, in the evening, had written to the General, to make an attempt to extend his walk about an English mile beyond its usual length; that there he would find, on his right, a rising ground, covered with a wood, which would serve to screen them from the observation of the sentinels; and that this was the place selected, as best calculated to secure his escape. The General wrote an answer, in which he detailed what he would do, in order to get rid of the Governor, *who had now contracted for him so strong a friendship, that whenever they left the carriage to walk, he always held him very closely by the arm.**

* The very words of La Fayette.

As the carriage was slow in coming, the two young men fatigued their horses very much, in waiting for the General. At last, about half past five o'clock, the carriage came in sight, with two men in it, one of whom wore a three-cornered hat, with an Austrian uniform, and without epaulettes; while on the left sat the other, dressed in a blue coat, and round hat. Bollmann and Huger, as soon as they saw the guard behind the carriage, knew that these were La Fayette and the Governor. They immdiately turned the heads of their horses toward the country, and trotted slowly forward, so that the carriage very soon overtook them. As it passed, the Doctor drew out his white pocket handkerchief, and La Fayette immediately did the same; that being the signal by which it had been agreed they were to recognise each other. The two young men then allowed the carriage to keep a short distance ahead, until it finally stopped, when the General and Governor got out, and began to take their usual walk; so that they still kept in front of Bollmann and Huger. As soon as La Fayette had reached the wood, which Bollmann had described on the right hand side of the road, he found a pretence to withdraw some distance from the Governor. Bollmann and Huger then pushed their horses forward towards La Fayette, and Huger sprang from his horse to assist the General to mount behind Bollmann.

But the old Governor, notwithstanding his size and his stiffness, got up in time to catch La Fayette by the arm; and while he was struggling to get loose, the guard seized him behind. At this moment, Huger, who was active and strong, caught the guard by his hair, which was gathered behind into a long cue, and threw him with force on the ground, telling La Fayette to make his escape with all possible speed, and adding that he could easily manage the two Austrians, who were each quite old and infirm. The sudden fall of the guard, however, started Huger's horse, the bridle of which he held round his arm, whilst he was assisting the general. The leather gave way, and the horse galloped off and plunged into the neighbouring fields. Bollmann, almost in despair at this unpleasant accident, would have dismounted from his horse; but Huger told him, in English, to make his escape without an instant's delay, with La Fayette, who was at that moment struggling with the guard. The general was above him, and succeeded in keeping him down, but the guard held him so strongly by the arm, that all he could do was to seize him by the throat. On doing this, the guard cried loudly for help, and La Fayette, to stifle his cries, endeavoured to thrust his handkerchief into his mouth. In this he partly succeeded, but the soldier, letting go of the General's arm, who was all this while kneeling upon him, bit his two

fingers so severely, that on tearing them away from his teeth, the skin and flesh remained in the mouth of the guard. In this condition, covered with blood from the wound, which bled profusely, he had barely time to mount behind Bollmann, who was now as urgent as Huger for their immediate departure. For while La Fayette was struggling with the guard, and Huger was engaged with the Governor, who had drawn his sword to defend himself, Bollmann, looking around, saw at a distance, a peasant, who was driving a plough drawn by two horses. He soon perceived that this peasant, observing the disturbance, had unharnessed one of his horses, and was coming towards them. He immediately gave the alarm to the General, who, as he has since told me, never in his life felt as strong as he did at that moment. Snatching, as I have mentioned, his fingers from the mouth of the guard, he rushed to Huger's assistance; but both he and Bollmann told him that a moment's delay would infallibly ruin them all; and entreated him instantly to mount behind Bollmann, who held out his hand to assist him to rise. Huger at the same time conjured him not to delay, adding, that he was active, and an excellent runner, and would easily gain the neighbouring hills, after which he would be able, by favour of the night, to join them at the place appointed. Thus urged on both sides, La Fayette was compelled to yield to

their entreaties, and mounting behind Bollmann, sat off at full speed. They had not gone three miles, before they heard the three reports from the alarm-gun of the fortress.

In the mean time, Huger, who had easily disarmed the governor, as soon as he saw his friends in safety, let go his hold, and run into the thicket. The guard had been so badly handled, that he was utterly unable to rise without the governor's help. They then got into the carriage, and returned to town without their prisoners, sore with their bruises, and in no very amiable humour. The governor ordered the alarm-gun to be immediately fired; and as there was no cavalry in the place, he ordered all the officers to mount their horses and pursue the fugitives. At the same time he sent a great number of patroles in every direction along the roads, on the frontiers and through the adjoining country. One of these found and brought back Huger's horse, which had tranquilly resumed the road to town; but several hours elapsed, before the governor, who was very uneasy at what had happened, received any news of the others. Huger, who had had a good hour's start, would have been able to effect his escape without any difficulty; but the peasant of whom we have made mention above, had mounted one of his plough-horses, and pursued him closely; and although he could not overtake him in consequence of the ruggedness of the ground, he still contrived to keep him in

sight. On hearing the alarm-gun, however, he suspected that Huger was the object of pursuit, and springing from his horse, he followed him with all possible speed. The young American, exhausted by his previous struggles, disappointment and chagrin, saw with terror, that the peasant was fresh, vigorous and swift of foot, and that he was gaining sensibly on him. As a last resource, he turned round, as soon as the man came up, and offered him his purse, which contained a large sum of money; but the other refused it with an oath, and seized him roughly by the collar. Huger attempted to resist, but his strength was now so much exhausted that he was soon overpowered. His hands were then tied, and he was handed over to one of the patroles, who inhumanly beat him with the breech of his musket, as he drove him into town. He arrived about eleven at Olmutz, and was instantly put into irons, and thrown into a dungeon.

Dr. Bollmann and the General, in the mean time, alarmed at the report of the gun, were anxiously urging on their almost exhausted horse. A great deal of rain had fallen in the forenoon, so that the animal slipped continually, and at last stumbled and fell, and threw his riders off his back. They rose again without injury, but finding the horse unable to proceed without a little repose, they allowed him to rest awhile; then mounting again, they pushed hastily forward. To add to their misfortunes, the dark-

ness, in consequence of a dense and drizzling rain, had come on sooner than usual, so that they could no longer distinguish one object from another. The dread of pursuit, the fear that the horse would stumble and throw them at every step, the anxiety they felt for the unknown fate of their young and generous friend, all conspired to make such an impression on the mind of Bollmann, who held the reins, that when they arrived at the fork of the road, he had entirely forgotten which led to Braunseiffen, and which to Troppau. Stopping his horse to reflect which was the right road, he found the finger-post without difficulty, but in consequence of the extreme darkness, could not distinguish a letter upon it.

They had now gone eleven miles on their way, and there remained but fifteen before they would reach the postchaise near Troppau, where they would have been safe. But this unexpected dilemma perplexed them in the extreme. General La Fayette finally proposed to Bollmann, speaking in a low tone of voice, as they had constantly done when they spoke at all, that perhaps it would be best to throw the reins on the horse's neck, and allow him to choose the road himself.* Bollmann followed this advice; but the horse, who was extremely fa-

* This is an established practice in the cavalry. It would seem, that this noble animal has more memory, as well as more instinct, than man; and there are few who do not know how often the rider is saved by the sagacity of the horse.

tigued, no sooner found himself at liberty, than instead of taking either of the roads, he turned his head towards town. This circumstance completed the embarrassment of Bollmann, who resumed the reins, whipped the horse, and compelled him to take the road to the left; for, as we have already said, the highway at this place becomes so narrow that Bollmann could not tell which was the principal, or which was the cross road, the darkness increasing at every step. After having travelled in this way three miles further, the horse stumbled again, and the two riders narrowly escaped with their lives. La Fayette received a violent contusion in the arm, having fallen on a sharp stone, and believed for a moment that his arm was broken, the blood at the same time flowing profusely. While they were engaged in raising themselves and their horse from the ground, Bollmann acknowledged to the General, that he greatly feared he had mistaken the road, for it seemed much too uneven and rough for the highway to Troppau. They finally concluded to return to the fork, and to follow the other road; but they had scarcely come to this determination, when they saw, not far distant, a patrolling party of peasants, who hailed them with the usual cry of, who goes there? They made no reply, but hastened to mount their horse, when six armed peasants, with their leader at their head, surrounded them, and

compelled them to go on, about two hundred steps further, to a large barn on the road to Braunseifen, where they had taken up their quarters.

I ought, however, first to enter into some details, necessary to enable the reader to understand, by what means, and for what purpose, these peasants had placed themselves there.

In Austria, whenever a soldier or prisoner escapes, the town-gates are immediately closed, three alarm-guns are fired, and all the cavalry is sent out in pursuit of the fugitives. As soon as the report of the cannon is heard, the mayor, the judges, and the municipal officers, are obliged to sound the alarm-bell, which can be heard from one village to another, and which by this means spreads the alarm to the distance of fifty or sixty miles in a very few minutes. The inhabitants, who are all organized into battalions, regiments, and companies, (under the denomination of the Landsturm,) are compelled under rigid penalties to assemble at a place appointed, where they receive arms and instructions from the civil authorities. For every prisoner or deserter overtaken and brought back, the government gives them a stipulated compensation, in order to increase their emulation, activity, and vigilance. In consequence of this law, the mayor of Braunseifen, Mr. Joseph Richter, had ordered the alarm-bell to be sounded,

had assembled the villagers, and had established in this barn, under the command of a sub-officer, a guard of twelve men, who had thus unfortunately perceived and arrested La Fayette and his companion.

The chief of this guard was a worthy farmer, who treated the prisoners with much humanity, asked them kindly to dismount, and inquired of them who they were. Bollmann replied in German, that they were English travellers who had lost their way; but the farmer, surprised to see them covered with blood and mire, was dissatisfied, and asked for further explanations. The Doctor then declared, that his fellow traveller had received a severe wound from the fall of their horse; and showed him the General's hand, which was bound up in a handkerchief. Inquiry was next made for their passports; on which Bollmann produced his, and said that his companion's horse, after throwing his rider, had made his escape, carrying off the portmanteau that contained his friend's passport. He added, that, observing the light in the barn, they had approached with the expectation of finding a guide; then taking some gold from his pocket, he promised to reward liberally whoever would engage to procure a guide and a good horse. On hearing this, the chief of the guard shook his head and replied, that although he had no doubt they were gentlemen, still, he was compelled by his duty to detain them until he had received instructions from

the mayor, Mr. Richter, to whom he accordingly despatched one of his guards, to apprise him of the arrival and detention of these two travellers.

In the mean time, Dr. Bollmann's passport was handed round to all who were present; and as it was written in German, two of the peasants who could read, or at least spell, assured the chief of the guard that it was perfectly correct, and that the *visa* of Vienna and Olmutz, were in all respects exact. Bollmann then again requested the farmer, to provide them a good guide and another horse, and taking out a purse well filled with ducats, offered him a reward much larger than before. But the farmer steadily refused to receive his money or comply with his request; always adding, that he had not the smallest suspicion of either of the gentlemen; but that after hearing the cannon and alarm-bell, he could not allow them to proceed, on any consideration whatever, without the express orders of the proper authority.

A large fire was now prepared, in order to dry their clothes; bread, butter, beer, and other provisions, were brought out and offered to the travellers, and a straw bed was also provided. Neither Bollmann nor the General, however, could touch a morsel, but, driven to despair, by this strange combination of unfortunate accidents, they threw themselves down upon the straw, overcome with fatigue, disappointment and alarm.

The doors of the barn were then closed ; one sentinel placed without, and another within. The horse was also brought in and taken charge of by one of the guard; while the others were engaged in watching every motion of the strangers, or in whispering to each other their various conjectures. In circumstances like these, all attempts to convey by description an adequate idea of the painful situation and reflections of the sufferers must prove entirely unavailing. Their sensations must be left to the reader's imagination to conceive.

In this condition, they endured three hours of almost intolerable suspense, when at last the orders of the mayor arrived, directing the strangers to be brought before him immediately, at Braunseiffen. M. Richter was a wealthy manufacturer of cloth, a man of kind and generous feelings, and of the most unbending integrity; in short, one of those plain, honest, open-hearted men, we so often meet with in Germany.

As I have been at this gentleman's house, at three different times, and remained with him once for four days, partly invited by his liberal hospitality, and partly for the purpose of obtaining news from Vienna ; I was enabled to procure a very detailed and exact account of all that happened to La Fayette and Bollmann, for some time before and after their arrest.

" As soon as I saw them," (this was his account,)

"I was sure they were gentlemen; for I was struck with their appearance, their dress, and their manners. But when I observed that their clothes were covered with mire, and stained with blood, I hardly knew what to think. I immediately requested all persons present to retire, except my colleague, the curate, and the secretary of the municipality; curious to know who they were, and how they came in such a strange predicament. Bollmann then presenting me his passport, told me, that he was a Hanoverian, and of course a subject of his Britannic Majesty, the friend and ally of Austria, and added, that his arrest had been very illegal. All this was said with so much ease and propriety, that I was extremely perplexed, and hardly knew what course was best to adopt, when my associate and the curate, the gentleman now before you,* advised me not to act with too much precipitation, but to wait for further intelligence from Olmutz. As soon as the two strangers saw us conversing and consulting together, in a low tone of voice, they began immediately to do the same. At length the Doctor rose from his chair, and begged me to go with him into another room, as he wished to speak with me alone. This request, made with great abruptness, and with

* We were all three seated at table after dinner, over a bottle of excellent old Johannisbergher, a well known Rhenish wine of that name.

marks of extreme agitation, induced me at first to suspect, that he harboured some sinister design; but immediately repelling this suspicion, I invited him to walk into that small apartment that you see there. We had scarcely entered and closed the door, when, with tears in his eyes, he asked me, 'whether I knew who was his companion. It is,' said he, 'the great, the good La Fayette, whom I have attempted to deliver from prison. Oh! save him! I beg, I conjure you! and I'll give you all the gold I have about me, and bills of exchange for 20,000 florins, and for thirty thousand more, if you want it. And if that's not enough, the General will promise you a hundred thousand florins at least. Oh! save him! for God's sake, save him! It was I who brought him to this horrible condition—punish *me*, and let *me* be your prisoner, and let *him* escape!' He then threw himself upon the ground before me, embraced my knees, and sobbed, and wept, and prayed to me, as if I had indeed been a saint or a saviour.

"At the name of La Fayette, I felt such emotions as it would be utterly vain to attempt to describe. Though I had never seen him for a moment, he had ever been the object of my profoundest esteem and veneration. In a state of great and painful perplexity, and scarcely conscious of what I was doing, I raised the young man from the ground, and asked him reproachfully, why,

as soon as my people had arrested him, he had not instantly written me a note undisguisedly stating the truth. In that case, I continued, I should have repaired to the spot, and could have easily made such arrangements, as to enable you both to escape without in the least committing myself. Tell the General how much I love, how much I revere him; but tell him that I am extremely unhappy, that now it is utterly out of my power to assist his escape. There are too many persons who saw him arrested, and he is, I am sure, too generous to ask me to do what would consign my wife and my children to inevitable ruin.

"We had proceeded so far, when word was brought to me, that an officer had just arrived on horseback with a message from the governor, and desiring to see me immediately. On entering the parlour, I found seated by the side of La Fayette, the governor's aid-de-camp, who, though he did not speak, seemed greatly enraged at what had taken place. As soon as he saw me, he ordered me in the name of his excellency, to apprehend and send to Olmutz, under a strong guard, those two men, pointing to La Fayette and Bollmann, and accompanying every thing he said with a violent oath. He then informed me of all that had happened; but every thing I heard, only excited my greater sorrow for their misfortunes; and I asked the aid-de-camp's permission, to offer him and the prisoners some refreshment, while the carriage and the guard were preparing. My wife shed tears on

merely hearing that General La Fayette had been arrested, after attempting to escape; and indeed, all my children did the same; for we had frequently spoken of the General with great admiration, and though we had never seen him, we did not love or esteem him the less. The two unfortunate men refused to sit down to table with us, in spite of all my entreaties; but walked up and down the room in the greatest distress; the sight of which, however, did not seem in the least to affect the appetite of the hungry aid-de-camp. At length the carriage arrived; and the aid, along with my associate, got in with the two prisoners; for I could not refuse this mark of respect to a man whom I so deeply venerated; especially, as a great concourse of people had already assembled to witness and watch our proceedings."

Such is the account which Richter gave me; and I have inserted here with almost literal exactness the information I received at several conversations with this respectable man, for it made upon my mind an impression, which, as long as I live, nothing will efface.

When I repeated the substance of these conversations to General La Fayette, as we were one day seated in his carriage, with his lady, and his daughters, on our way from Olmutz to Hamburg, they all listened with marks of the greatest emotion. Madame de la Fayette could not restrain nor conceal her tears; but taking the hand of her husband and

mine, and pressing them warmly, "Oh my dear Feldmann,"* said she "how happy your story has made me; for it assures me there are good men in every part of the world." "Yes," observed La Fayette with a smile, "yes, *even in Austria.*"

* The reader is already informed, that I had adopted the fictitious name of Feldmann, for reasons hereafter to be mentioned.

CHAPTER XII.

Sketch of the Austrian police. Persecutions suffered under this police by the friends of the three prisoners at Olmutz. History of Joseph François Huber, of Vienna. Adventure of the author with the police of Prague. Melancholy fate of Passy, the professor. Sufferings of La Fayette, Huger and Bollmann. Singular mode of correspondence established between the three prisoners, La Fayette, Mauburg and Puzy.

The government of Austria was at this time administered by two men, blindly devoted to the cabinet of St. James, and the avowed enemies of Prince Charles, generalissimo of the Austrian forces. By their intrigues, the Prince was recalled from the command; but as this act of the government was followed by loud murmurs against its impolicy and injustice, and as the reverses of the Austrian army were attributed to his removal, the Emperor, undeceived by the minister of war, who had sufficient courage to tell his sovereign the truth, reinstated him in his command; but so circumscribed his powers, as to render him subordinate to the control of a Supreme Council;

(the *Ober-Hof-Kreigs-Rath;*) the consequence of which was, that he was unable to make the smallest movement without privately submitting the plan of his operations to the approbation of this council, which held its sittings at Vienna.

These two regulators of the Austrian government were the Baron de Thugut, prime minister, and favourite *protégé* of the deceased empress; the other was his creature and confidant, the Count de Saurau. Both these men were at all times remarkably subservient and obsequious in the presence of their sovereign, with whom they enjoyed the highest favour; but their equals and inferiors were treated with the most insolent arrogance, and the most offensive assumption of contemptuous superiority. Sworn enemies of every liberal opinion and philosophic sentiment, they persecuted all who entertained them, to the last degree of bigoted intolerance. Jealous of the power they had unjustly usurped, and apprehensive that their feeble sovereign might learn the actual condition of the army, and the lamentable mismanagement of the affairs of the interior, they endeavoured to surround the throne with the passive creatures of their will, in order to conceal their errors and offences.

To these obscure and contemptible tyrants, General La Fayette and his friends had to ascribe all the persecutions and misfortunes they incurred. As a triking example of their system of wilful oppression,

I shall here introduce an account of the persecution of the authors of certain essays, published in defence of General La Fayette.

Mr. Joseph François Huber, encouraged by the manifest dissatisfaction which the inhuman treatment of La Fayette, Bollmann and Huger, after their attempt to escape, had occasioned among the more enlightened and liberal classes at Vienna, had ventured to publish in a weekly journal, several articles in favour of General La Fayette and his friends, adding, that in this respect, his opinion was supported by that of the greater part of the people of Austria. A fortnight had scarcely elapsed after the publication of these essays, when the police interfered, seized all the copies of the journal which remained unsold, and arrested the editor. On his refusing to give up the name of the author of the article in question, he was chained and thrown into a dungeon, where bread and water was his only food. His enlargement was only effected by the return of Mr. Huber, who had been for some time absent from town, and who, as soon as he was informed of the circumstance, hastened to acknowledge that he had written the offensive article, and insisted that his friend should be released from prison, and tried before a competent tribunal. To this appeal, the minions of the ministers replied, by throwing Huber into the dungeon which confined his friend, who was not released until two months after; to punish him, as these petty tyrants declared, for his

obstinate refusal to betray the confidence of Huber. The latter, in spite of all the exertions of his wife, and his numerous friends, was transferred secretly, and by night, loaded with chains, to the subterraneous cells of Munkatsch in Hungary, where he remained nearly three years in a wet unwholesome dungeon, filled with worms, toads, and other nauseous reptiles; and where he would have perished beyond a doubt, without the assistance of several officers, his friends, who contrived to convey to him, from time to time, supplies of clothing and more wholesome food.

I saw Huber at Altona myself, and the account he gave me of his sufferings, which are published in the *Neueste Staats-Anzeigen*, was deplorable indeed; and sufficiently prove that the prisons of Austria, particularly at Munkatsch and Spielberg, near Brunn, the capital of Moravia, are even worse than the old Bastile, of which so much has been said. Of these transactions, the Emperor Francis II. knew absolutely nothing; and Huber and his friend owed their sufferings exclusively to the tyranny of Thugut and Saurau. All who understood the gloomy, suspicious, and ferocious temper of these two ministers, knew themselves surrounded by spies and informers, and feared, at every instant, arrest, confiscation and imprisonment.

In order to convey to the reader some idea of the unequal severity and inquisitorial manœuvres of the

Austrian police, I shall here relate an adventure in which I myself was engaged.

In the early part of 1796, I passed for the first time from Hamburg through Dresden and Bautzen, to Prague, on a journey, incognito, to Olmutz, in order to ascertain exactly the condition of the prisoners, and the chances of escape. Sieveking, who had given Bollmann letters of introduction and credit, gave me also, besides others, one for Balabene and Co., rich bankers at Prague. Travelling in a very elegant berlin with four post horses, well provided with money and bills of exchange, and attended by a single domestic, I arrived at Prague on the morning of the day of the great festival, held in honour of the patron saint of Bohemia, St. Nopomuck. On this occasion there assemble annually, more than 50,000 strangers, who come upon a pilgrimage to Prague, to kneel at the shrine of the Saint, and to receive from the hands of his Ministers pardon for their sins, and the gift of the holy absolution. This absolution is contained in little printed papers, which are sold in immense quantities, from the price of a few Kreutzers* to two florins apiece, according to the greatness of the offence, and from their sale the priests are enabled to realize incalculable sums.

On my arrival at the gates of Prague, my car-

* The value of the Austrian Kreutzer is rather less than that of the American cent.

riage was stopped by the sentry. The officer of the guard came out, and obliged me to produce my passport, demanded my name, my last residence, place of birth, my rank, my business in Prague, how long I intended to remain in the capital, and at what hotel I should lodge, &c. My answers to all these questions were placed in his port-folio. On my requesting him to return my passport, he told me, that his orders were to send to the police the passports of all strangers who arrived at the capital, and, if circumstances called for it, even the traveller himself; but, as you are a gentleman, he added, I shall dispense with this last requisition.

In consequence of the concourse of people, drawn together by the approaching festival, it was with the greatest difficulty that I could procure lodgings. I was at last successful at the hotel *Romische Kayser*, the landlord of which, met me at the door, and making me several low and obsequious bows, called me your Excellency and Monsieur le Baron. His servility disgusted me, and I told him I was neither an Excellency, nor a Baron. He then saluted me with the title of *Ihro Gnaden*, (your Lordship, or your Grace,) until, to get rid of his fulsome compliments, I asked him abruptly what paper he had in his hands. After a thousand ridiculous contortions and grimaces, I was allowed to understand that it contained a list of questions printed by the order of

the police, similar to the inquisitorial interrogatories which had already been put to me by the officer of the guard. At this I could scarcely control my impatience, and found it difficult to summon sufficient self-command to write the answers, and sign the paper. The landlord then told me that if he unfortunately omitted to send to the police, an hour after the arrival of a stranger at his hotel, a paper filled up and signed, like the one he had presented to me, he would be punished by a fine of a thousand florins, or by an imprisonment for 18 days.

Exhausted as I was with fatigue, having travelled day and night from Hamburg, without scarcely a moment's repose, I was nevertheless so impatient to reach Olmutz, that my intention was to remain at Prague only long enough to go to the banker's, and procure the amount of a bill drawn at sight by Mr. Strasow, a banker at Hamburg. The letters of Sieveking were merely small slips of paper, scarcely two fingers in breadth; for, after the failure of Bollmann, no one was willing to incur the smallest unnecessary risk. On this account, Sieveking advised me to conceal them with the utmost care, which I accordingly did. As his handwriting could not be mistaken, he did not sign any of these notes, and they contained simply these words: "The bearer is my intimate friend; assist him *in every thing*, as you would me." The words *in every*

thing, which were underscored, authorized me to draw for 50,000 florins, in case of necessity, as Mr. Sieveking explained to me himself. But I was already too well provided to make use of his letter of credit.

This scrap of paper from Sieveking produced a wonderful effect. As soon as the Baron de Balabene had read it, he received me with open arms, begged me to tell him what service he could render me, and paid me at once the amount of the bill of Strasow, in such coin as I preferred, notwithstanding it was the day of the great festival. I thought it prudent, however, not to communicate my intentions to him; not from mistrust, for Sieveking had recommended him as a man on whom I could entirely depend; but, as he could not in any way assist my designs, it seemed unadvisable to make an unnecessary confidant.

On learning that I intended to leave Prague in an hour, he absolutely refused to let me go, till I had witnessed the festivities of a day so well meriting the notice of a stranger and a traveller. In short, I was obliged to remain. In the course of the day, we made an excursion on the Mulde in a gondola, and landed on the beautiful islands of *Gros* and *Klein Venedig*, where a large concourse of fashionable people had assembled. Afterwards, I saw the great procession, the bridge on which is placed the statue

of the Saint, superbly adorned, and surrounded by more than ten thousand wax tapers, by a multitude of priests, by an innumerable host of worshippers, who lay prostrate in the dust, and, in short, by all that imposing pomp and ceremonious magnificence observed in all Catholic countries, and, above all, in Austria, where superstition is so powerfully seconded by fashion.

I had given orders to my servant to have my horses ready at eleven in the evening, wishing to redeem the time I had lost during the day, in order that I might reach Olmutz the day but one after. Having urged me in vain to give up my intention to travel by night, Balabene obtained from the Governor a pass, by which the gates of the town would be opened to me; for Prague is a fortified town, whose gates are closed during the night, and none but men of distinction and family are permitted to have passes, which they easily procure by paying a few florins to the guard.

Highly gratified with the society of this amiable family, at whose house there had been given that day a magnificent fête, I took my leave, and was conducted to my hotel. Before I reached it, however, my servant, with every mark of consternation in his countenance, met me, and desired to speak to me alone. From him I learned, to my great amazement, and, I must confess, to my great em-

barrassment, that the President of the police requested to see me before he could give me my permit for the post horses. I immediately set out, accompanied by the servant I had hired on my arrival,* for the residence of the President. On the way, he remarked, with a smile, "your excellency is too much of a gentleman to have any thing to fear."

I was now shown the way through a long suite of apartments, superbly furnished, into the closet of the President, who was alone, and, although it was at least half past eleven at night, seemed engaged busily in writing. As soon as the door opened, he asked the servant who was there: "It is the gentleman your excellency† sent for," he replied, going out and closing the door. "Ah ha!" said the other, turning his broad red face towards me, but without raising his ponderous body from the chair. "Well! who are you?" This unmannerly reception and authoritative air, provoked me to reply in the same tone, "I am a traveller." "From what place?" "My passport will tell you." It lay by his side; he unfolded it, and began to examine it. In the mean time, shocked at his incivility in allowing me to stand, I took up one of the arm chairs with which the large room was filled, placed it directly in front of him, and sat down. He contracted his

* The greatest part of these servants, are spies of the police.

† The reader is not to be surprised at this eternal repetition of title: he is to recollect this took place in Austria, not in America.

brow, looked at me over the passport, but said nothing. After he had attentively examined all the *visa* of the different places through which I had passed, the names of which were on the back of the passport, he asked me if I knew any of the inhabitants of the city. "I do," I replied; "I have passed the whole day with the Baron de Balabene." "Ah! sir, are you acquainted with the *noble* Baron de Balabene?" "So well, that he this morning paid me a large sum of money, and refused to allow me to leave him today." These words seemed to work a miracle. He rose from his seat, addressed me with *Ihro Gnaden*, gave me his hand, told me he had been misinformed, and declared his delight at becoming acquainted with me. He suddenly, however, seemed to recollect himself, desired me to excuse him, passed into the antechamber, whispered to several of the servants, and among these to the one I had hired, and then returned and took a seat by my side. These manœuvres on the part of my mysterious host, began to make me uneasy; for I had been warned by my friends at Hamburg, that I should have occasion for all my circumspection and prudence. I was soon reassured, however, by the entrance of several servants, who now came in, bringing glasses, and three or four bottles of wine. A small table was then brought near the sopha on which we were sitting, and on it were arranged the wine and glasses,

with cakes and preserves. My entertainer then asked me what wine I preferred; "for I *now* see clearly," said he, "you're a gentleman, and we must empty a bottle together, while we wait for our friend, Balabene." "What! have you sent for the Baron?" "I have, and I hope you'll not take it amiss. Our sovereign's commands* are so strict, that we cannot take too much precaution. I am the father of a very large family, and my fortune is small. I am surrounded with spies, and have sent for the Baron, that I may not be accused of having neglected my duty. About a fortnight ago, we arrested the driver of a diligence, in whose possession we found a book, in the cover of which was secreted a letter addressed to a very respectable man at Olmutz, and in which, among other things, mention was made of a French officer, who was travelling incognito, the bearer of very interesting intelligence for General La Fayette, another French officer, with whom you are probably acquainted." As he uttered these last words, he fixed his eyes steadfastly on my face. But the stratagem did not succeed; for, raising my glass, I drank to his health, and replied with the utmost indifference, "I know the name of the man you mean very well; it is mentioned in all the Gazettes; but I

* It will be observed, that all these vexations were committed in the name of the Emperor; but I shall show in the sequel, that they originated with Thugut and Saurau.

did not know he was there—I thought he was at Magdeburg." At this he laughed heartily, and, taking me by the hand, told me that my ignorance was the best proof that *I was not the French officer ;** and that, besides, I spoke German too well for a Frenchman. Balabene now entered, and confirmed the good opinion of the President; we finished our bottles, my host gave me the permit, and wished me a very pleasant journey.

Passy, however, of whose generous exertions in assisting the escape of La Fayette we have spoken at large in the preceding chapters, could not elude the vigilance and vengeance of Thugut and Saurau. According to the best information we have been able to obtain, it appears that, about six months after the enlargement of the prisoners, and our departure from Olumtz, he was no more to be seen; and it was strongly suspected, that he was thrown into the dungeons of Spielberg or Munkatsch. We therefore take this opportunity, earnestly to entreat the friends of humanity in Austria, (if indeed, this work can ever hope to cross the *cordon* of Austrian police,) to publish to the world, whatever information they may possess of the fate of this unfortunate man. By so doing, a very signal favour will be conferred on the families of La Fayette, Latour-Maubourg, and Bureau de Puzy; and one at least as great on myself; for a close

* I shall presently inform the reader more of this French officer and the book.

friendship, founded on the sincerest gratitude and esteem, had connected me with this excellent and benevolent man. With respect to the two tyrants who were the authors of the sufferings of the prisoners, I believe that the Count de Saurau is dead, and that Thugut drags out a miserable existence, deservedly despised by every one around him.

We must now return to the prisoners, who, as we have seen, were all three retaken and confined in subterraneous cells beneath the ramparts of the prison. Brauers, the superintendent, immediately ordered that La Fayette should be thrown into chains, and the irons were so closely fastened about his feet, that, for more than three months, he endured the most excruciating torture, of which all the while the governor was absolutely ignorant. For, notwithstanding his previous professions, he never came now to visit the prisoners, nor took the least trouble to ascertain their melancholy situation. Was this owing to fear, indifference, or insensibility? Let Count d'Arco justify himself, as he may, if he still be living, which, as I have never since inquired, I cannot now undertake to decide.* From this moment, General La Fayette

* In a narrative contained in the Edinburgh Annual Register, the Journal from which we extracted the speech of General Fitzpatrick, we find it stated as follows. "He (Bollmann) was soon told the melancholy tale, that La Fayette had been retaken, with the addition that his friend Huger had shared a similar fate. In despair, at having been the primary cause of his misfortune, and determining to share it with him, he voluntarily surrendered himself, and was committed a prisoner to the castle." Now, we ask the in-

was treated with the utmost rigour. He had, previous to his confinement, suffered a very severe fit of illness at Magdeburg, of which he had never been thoroughly cured. His anxieties, his fatigues, his anguish and despair, at finding himself again in the power of his unrelenting jailer, so shattered his nerves that his fever returned with redoubled and alarming violence. In this state, he was allowed nothing for his bed but a little damp and mouldy straw; irons were put round his feet, and round his waist was a chain, which was fastened to the wall, and barely permitted him to turn from one side to the other. No light was admitted into his cell, and he was even refused the smallest allowance of linen.

The winter of 1794–95 was extremely severe, but his inhuman jailers did not, on that account, relax from the rigour of prescribed and systematic oppression. It seemed, indeed, sufficiently evident, that their object was to put an end to their victim's existence by this ingenious device of irresponsible cruelty.

telligent reader, if it is at all probable, that a man who had violently resisted and forcibly assaulted an Austrian governor, for the purpose of aiding and abetting the escape of a prisoner, would be so absurdly benevolent as to resign himself voluntarily into the hands of the very man whose person he had assailed, and whose authority he had despised, to be thrown like a slave into a dungeon? And for what purpose? To insure his own misery, and to increase that of his friends, without being able to assist them in the least; whereas, he might otherwise hope to redeem and repair the fault he had before unintentionally committed.

Worn down by disease and the rigour of the season, his hair fell from his head, and he became emaciated to the last degree. To these physical distresses were now superadded, those mental anxieties, which are, perhaps, still more difficult to endure. The only information he could obtain, respecting the fate of his wife and children, for whom he felt the most painful solicitude, was, that they were still confined in the prisons of Paris; and, in reply to his inquiries concerning the condition of Bollmann and Huger, his tormentors informed him that they were soon to perish by the hands of the hangman!

As I have received no authentic information respecting the treatment of these two heroic but unfortunate young men, and as the details given in the Edinburgh Register, for the year 1809, appear to me sufficiently exact, we will here transcribe, with a few observations, the account given at p. 519 of that useful and interesting journal.

"The reader's attention must now be confined to Huger, the detail of whose sufferings the writer is better acquainted with than those of Bollmann, having been informed of them by himself. The day after his entrance into the castle, Huger received notice from the jailer to prepare for an examination before the chief magistrate of the city. As he was not conscious of having committed any very heinous crime, he was under no apprehensions for his life;

but expected that, after he had told his story and declared the motive of his actions, his judge might subject him to some slight punishment, perhaps a short imprisonment; what then was his amazement, when he heard himself accused of having entered into a conspiracy against the Austrian government.

"The examination was carried on by means of an interpreter, a young man of a benign aspect, who seemed to compassionate his situation, and who, when he gave such answers as he thought might tend to hurt his cause, made him repeat his answers, softening their import, assuring him that he knew he did not exactly express himself in proper terms, and desiring him to recollect whether he did not mean to answer in such and such a manner. Huger saw his good intentions, and determined to rely on his judgment, especially after he had heard him say, in a low voice, 'I am your friend.' After this, and many subsequent examinations, the magistrate informed him he must not expect pardon, but advised him to prepare for the worst. This exhortation, so often repeated, began to have some effect upon him; and, considering he was in the power of an absolute monarch, whose will was superior to law, he could not shake off some melancholy presages. His place of confinement was a loathsome dungeon, without light; he was fed with the coarsest food, chained to the floor during the night; his own clothes taken

from him, and others sent him that had been already worn by many an unfortunate prisoner. Thus he dragged on the first three months of his confinement. After that time he was removed to a better room, into which glimmered a borrowed light; better clothes and more wholesome food were given him, and his circumstances in every respect improved.

"But still he was uncertain as to his fate, and the jailer was the only human being who visited him. One day he was surprised with the appearance of his young friend the interpreter, Mr. W——.*

"Nothing could exceed his joy at once more beholding a kindly human face. He informed Huger that the court of Austria had believed that all the garrison of Olmutz had been engaged in the conspiracy; that many people had been arrested on suspicion; for it could not be believed that two such young men, as he and Bollmann, could have formed and executed so daring a plan, without the aid of others; but as no proofs had hitherto appeared, it was determined to bring them shortly to trial, and for that purpose lawyers were to be sent from Vienna to assist the magistrates of the city. Huger now for the first time learned the complete failure of their

"* The initials only of this excellent man's name are given, for necessary and obvious reasons. *Editor of the Register.*"†

† This may possibly be our professor Passy.

scheme, and that Bollmann was under the same roof with him. However sad the reflection was, that his friend's sufferings equalled his own, yet he could not express the joy he felt at being so near him. Soon after, he discovered that he inhabited the room above him. Thenceforward his treatment was much less rigorous; even the jailer, who till lately had observed a profound silence, relaxed his caution, and came frequently to visit him; and though a man of few words, yet as his presence broke the dreary solitude, he felt happy whenever he made his appearance. Many were the experiments he tried to hold a communication with Bollmann, and at length he succeeded.

"He discovered that the window, which threw a borrowed light into his cell, served likewise to throw light into that of Bollmann. He picked a piece of lime from the wall, and with it scratched a few words upon a black silk handkerchief he wore about his neck, then fixing it upon a stick, he climbed up the side of the room, and raised the stick as near the common window as he could, till it had attracted the attention of Bollmann, who, after many efforts, made himself master of it, and returned an answer by the same method. Delighted with having overcome this difficulty, they never suffered a day to pass without some communication. To W—— they were indebted for the means of rendering their

situation still more comfortable, by engaging the jailer's wife in their interest; a few presents, and now and then a small piece of money, induced her secretly to bring them books, food, wine, and warmer clothes; and at length to procure a meeting between the two friends, at first short, but by degrees become more hardy, they were permitted to pass some part of every day together.* The following is an extract of a letter written by Huger to a near friend and relation, which, as it describes his situation and feelings in a forcible manner, ought not to be omitted:

"'I am equally ignorant how this affair may have been represented, or what may be thought in these times of an attempt to deliver M. de La Fayette.

"'The motives which, however, induced me to engage in it, cannot be judged by those who examine all similar enterprises according to their success or failure; believe me, it was neither unreasonably undertaken, nor rashly executed, but failed from accidents which prudence could not

* This appears to us extremely improbable; inasmuch as the hall of the Jesuit's College was filled with sentinels. There was stationed at the entrance a guard of twenty-five men, with their commanding officer; and at the other extremity a guard of four men with a corporal. Which way could Bollmann have passed in order to have almost daily interviews with Huger.

foresee. To the mortification of a failure were added the miseries of a prison, which, in Austria, exceed any thing known in England. In a small room, just long enough for my bed of straw, with eight-pence a day for my support—at night chained to the ground, and without books or light—I passed the first three months of my captivity. After this time my situation become gradually better; but I was not allowed to write to my friends, to be delivered from my chains, or permitted the smallest intercourse with the world, till a fortnight before my release.

"'In such a situation, the consciousness alone of having done nothing dishonest or dishonourable, could afford that internal satisfaction, and inspire that stern patience, necessary to support calmly so sudden and severe a reverse of fortune; but it has convinced me that a mind at peace with itself, can in no situation be unhappy. Daily habit also soon removed the unpleasant sensations excited by disagreeable and unaccustomed objects; and the mind, which no power can restrain, will always derive consolation from hope, and rarely want some subject to be actively employed upon.

"'My friend and companion, Mr. Bollmann, was in the same house, and our efforts to establish some communication, or to procure a momentary interview, afforded exercise for invention; and, in

proportion to the difficulty of effecting our wishes, the smallest success rewarded days of projects and expectation. I once also found means to disengage myself from my chains, and felt an emotion beyond the power of words to describe.'

"'The slave, liberated by the bounty of his master, experiences nothing similar to it; he feels obligation for a favour conferred; but a person formerly free, breaking the chain of tyranny and oppression, has the double enjoyment of overcoming his enemy, and regaining his liberty by his own exertions. Mine was but ideal, for I was still surrounded with walls and sentinels; it was an event which might be of such consequence that I did not permit the reality to interrupt the happiness it afforded me: and I probably felt more enjoyment at that moment, than, in general, one half the world ever experienced in their lives, even those possessing freedom, wealth, and friends. My long captivity has not then been wholly miserable, nor without some pleasure.'

" At length, at the end of seven months, they were informed that the crown lawyers were arrived. The government by this time was satisfied that the attempt to liberate La Fayette was planned independently by two adventurers, and that it was not a plot laid by the secret agents of France, in which the garrison of Olmutz at least was concerned, if it were not more widely extended; and upon their trial, the sole fact

of having attempted to rescue a state prisoner was alleged against them.

"This fact being proved, they were remanded to their prison, to await the sentence which was to be pronounced against them by the supreme magistrate. They were now, however, permitted every indulgence but liberty. It was some days before they heard from W——;* and when he came, they were astonished and confounded to hear from him, that their punishment was intended to be imprisonment for life. He, however, consoled them, by hinting that if they could by any means procure money, this sentence might be changed to one much less severe, as it remained with the magistrate to pass what sentence he thought proper, or even to release them entirely.† Bollmann had no fortune, and as Huger had no credit in Austria, it would be a long time before he could receive a remittance from London. W——, their guardian angel, promised to do all he could for them.

* This could not have been Passy, for he never would have consented to be the messenger of such disgraceful intelligence.

† This is another improbability. No civil magistrate in Austria is ever permitted to be the absolute arbiter of the fortunes of a man who has committed an offence against a military officer. The president of the Olmutz police, could not certainly pronounce an arbitrary sentence, affecting the prisoners committed to the charge of the governor or of the military authorities, whose powers are as predominant in Austria as in Prussia, and equally as jealous of the interference of civil jurisdiction.

"In the vicinity of Olmutz resided a Russian nobleman, of most polished manners, joined to the greatest benevolence of heart. With him, W—— enjoyed a perfect intimacy and friendship; they were congenial souls. W—— had made him acquainted with the whole of their story; through him he had been able to administer so frequently to their comfort; and he now nobly offered to advance them whatever money they might want to accomplish their release, and to defray their expenses to Hamburgh.* Having thus removed the greatest difficulty, his next care was to sound the sentiments of the magistrate. This he could easily effect, as, in the capacity of interpreter, he had constant communication with him. He soon discerned that the magistrate was not averse to his speaking in their favour; and when he artfully insinuated that a large reward would certainly attend his declaring himself inclined to pardon, he found he was listened to with more attention. Having gained this point, he very soon came to an eclaircissement. The magistrate made an exorbitant demand; W—— said, it was useless for him to go to the prisoners with such terms, and as he knew exactly the state of their finances, he could at once mention what they had to

* Within my personal knowledge and observation, there was no Russian nobleman living in the vicinity of Olmutz. It is more than probable that this was no other than the banker Hirsch, of whom we have already so frequently spoken.

give, and therefore the utmost he could expect. This sum was fifty pieces. He refused to comply for less than a hundred. In answer to this, W—— desired him to consider, that if he delayed his determination he might lose his prize altogether, for that great interest was making at Vienna, for the release of the prisoners, which he had no doubt would succeed, as, amongst others, the English and American ambassadors had exerted themselves in their favour.

"This upright magistrate at last yielded to the impulse of avarice, and agreed that, if the prisoners would send him the money before they left the prison, they should be released the next day. To this he answered, that they were so distrustful of all about them, that he was certain they would rather await the result of the petition at Vienna, than part with their little stock of money at an uncertainty; but added, that he himself would become their security, and be answerable to him for the money, in case they did not pay it. To this he agreed, and W—— was authorised to negotiate with the prisoners. All matters being soon settled, the term of their imprisonment was first fixed at fourteen years, then shortened to seven, soon after to one, then to a month, and lastly, to a week; at the expiration of which, they were released from prison.

"They immediately repaired to the house of the magistrate to return him thanks for the many indul-

gences he had allowed them, and upon shaking hands with them at parting, the stipulated sum was put into his hands. It is not to be supposed they made a long stay at Olmutz; no longer than was necessary to pour out their grateful acknowledgments to the Russian nobleman, and, above all, to the noble minded, generous W——, to whose kindness they owed all the comforts they had experienced in prison, and to whose friendly and humane exertions they were ultimately indebted for their liberation."*

Count d'Arco, governor of Olmutz, being suspected by Thugut and Saurau, of having treated La Fayette with too much indulgence, was, a few months after the attempted escape, removed, and succeeded by Baron de Schröter, general of artillery. At the same time, the superintendent, Captain Brauers, was dismissed, to make way for the Count de Maquelico, an Irishman by birth.

Richter, the mayor of Braunseifen, received from the minister a letter filled with encomiums, in which

* I understand, but from a source on which I cannot depend, that Mr. Huger is now in Charleston. If that be the case, I beg leave to solicit from that gentleman an authentic letter, confirming or amending what is here related; as I have never been able to ascertain the fact, from my personal inquiries. Such a communication would be extremely acceptable, and I should regard it as an honour and a duty, to publish, literally, any information he may be kind enough to communicate.

he was informed that his majesty had a proper sense of the zeal and attachment he had shown in the arrest of La Fayette and Bollmann; and that, in order the better to evince his satisfaction, his majesty had sent him a medal of gold, with a chain of the same, accompanied by the gracious permission that he might wear it on all great public occasions. I have seen both the letter and the medal; the sight of which produced upon me very disagreeable impressions; and I owe it to the merit of this excellent man, to state, that it was only shown to me at the particular and reiterated instance of his friend, Mr. Hirsch, who took me to see him at my first arrival at Olmutz.

The new governor, de Schröter, was a man advanced in life, of not unkind feelings, but rude and abrupt in his deportment, and very much addicted to the pleasures of the table. General La Fayette remained in irons for more than three months after his arrival, and no one had courage enough to speak in his behalf. Kreutschke, the head surgeon, who had, fortunately, escaped suspicion, had however not forgotten his friend, and one day speaking on the subject to Hirsch, it was agreed, after consulting Passy, the professor, to ascertain, if possible, the new governor's sentiments with regard to the prisoners; and this was accomplished in the following manner.

Hirsch kept decidedly the best table in Olmutz, and had his vaults abundantly stocked with excellent wines. Of this circumstance, de Schröter was disposed to avail himself; and accordingly, from the day of the first entertainment which the banker gave in honour of the governor's appointment and arrival, he made it a point to dine with him regularly two or three times a week, and the wine of course was never forgotten. Maquelico, who was also a good judge of wine, though rather too poor to drink any of his own, generally came with his excellency to these family dinners, as he called them. Hirsch, on one occasion, invited the governor to dine at his house on his birth day. The invitation was immediately accepted. At this dinner none were present but a few select friends, and among these the surgeon, the professor, and the superintendent. Hirsch took care to provide a sumptuous repast, and to fill his neighbour, the governor's glass, with every variety of wine. The guests were, of course, in admirable spirits, and when the dessert was served, the governor took occasion to offer a compliment in his usual style, on the magnificence of his host's hospitality, and the excellent flavour of his wines. To this Hirsch politely replied, that he had undoubtedly made every effort to receive his excellency with the honours due to his rank; but, he begged leave to observe, that there were many poor wretches who

would be satisfied with the thousandth part of their fare: and he would take that opportunity, he added, to ask of his excellency on this, his birth day, one single solitary favour. The governor, whose conduct had now begun to show the progress of the wine, laughed with great good nature, and told him his request was granted before it was made. Emboldened at this promising reply, Hirsch entreated him to extend some little indulgences to La Fayette, to take off his irons, and to allow him to leave his dungeon for an hour, in presence, at least, of the assembled guard. Certainly, certainly, answered de Schröter, and turning to the superintendent, exclaimed, Maquelico, you may give orders that the irons be removed from the prisoner, and that he be allowed, from to-morrow, to walk for an hour—recollect! for an hour, and no more—in the Jesuits' hall, (the name of the prison where La Fayette and his friends were confined.) This indulgence relieved in a measure the General's sufferings; but he was unable to hold any communication with his friends, for, although they came out at the same hour, and to the same hall, yet, each one of them was surrounded by four soldiers, who allowed them to walk only within the prescribed limits, and forbade them to speak or make signs to each other, on pain of being remanded to prison immediately, and of forfeiting entirely the privilege of walking in the hall.

Previous to the attempt of the General to make his escape, he corresponded with his two friends without much difficulty by means of the surgeon, who received for his services, on different occasions, many valuable presents, which Hirsch paid, from the very large advances of money which the American Consul at Hamburgh, Mr. John Parish, had placed at the disposal of the Olmutz banker. The General's valet-de-chambre, Felix, was occasionally allowed to remain in his master's prison. On one of these occasions, Felix told him that, in case of necessity, he had thought of a plan to enable him to converse with Maubourg and Puzy, by means of a kind of flute he had made of reeds, and which furnished the notes of a double octave, or sixteen tones, of which the combinations represented words, and even phrases. Pleased at the ingenuity of the scheme, La Fayette learned by heart this telegraphic dictionary, by means of which he was enabled to communicate his thoughts to his friends, without observation or suspicion.

At first they attempted to take away Felix's flute, on pretence that it made too much noise, but on his earnest and repeated entreaties, they allowed him to keep it. As he played very slowly, Maubourg and Bureau de Puzy marked with a piece of coal or wood the corresponding phrases, until they had interpreted the whole of the intelligence conveyed from

their friend. When we were together at the chateau of Lehmkuhlen, in Holstein, after the liberation of La Fayette, I expressed some curiosity to see how this correspondence was effected. Felix was accordingly brought into the parlour where we all were assembled, and performed on his flute the purport of several little notes which I gave him, and which Maubourg and Puzy, in a distant apartment, immediately interpreted. I mention this fact, to show that ingenuity will contrive resources under the most discouraging circumstances, and learn to defeat the stratagems of tyranny itself. This happy invention, which we believe is entirely new, does very great credit to both La Fayette and his valet.

They had contrived another mode of correspondence, quite as curious as that which I have mentioned. As the surgeon seldom visited Maubourg and Puzy, they could not often avail themselves of his assistance; and during the indisposition of Felix, *the enchanted flute* was silent, for want of a performer. The following expedient was then resorted to. Maubourg had purchased a young poodle, a species of dog, which, as every one knows, is very sagacious, and will fetch and carry remarkably well.

Each of the friends had his note prepared and rolled up in a small piece of wool, and brought it with him into the hall, where at three in the afternoon they were permitted to walk. Here Mau-

bourg, who had trained the dog well to his duty, threw the ball of wool, in which was concealed the note he had prepared to General La Fayette, and told the spaniel to fetch it. But the General, instead of the ball which Maubourg had thrown to him, put his own into the mouth of the spaniel, who brought it faithfully back to his master. Then Maubourg, who stood between La Fayette and Puzy, turned to the latter, and repeated the same manœuvre with him. On returning to their cells, the three friends opened the balls, and read, with great pleasure, each other's notes, prepared their replies, and the next day Mustapha played the messenger's part with equal success.

These three gentlemen have frequently told me, that after exchanging their notes, the hour they were permitted to walk became no longer a privilege, and they were impatient to return to their dungeons to read each other's reply, which generally contained nothing of consequence, but was always very acceptable.

No person who has not been placed in similar circumstances, can possibly appreciate the value which trifles like these, on such occasions, acquire. They told me, too, that the jailers, the soldiers, and the whole guard, far from suspecting the meaning of Mustapha's manœuvres, were the first to laugh at his gambols, and admire his sagacity.

CHAPTER XIII.

MADAME DE LA FAYETTE. Her imprisonment at Paris. Her sufferings, and journey to Vienna. Her audience of the Emperor. Interview with her husband at Olmutz. Answer to the Governor. Her heroic devotion.

AFTER the day of the 20th June, 1792, on which the royal dignity was wantonly degraded—after the ever memorable tenth of August, on which the power of the sovereign was finally annihilated—after the second of September, when the men of blood filled the measure of all the crimes they had the power to perpetrate—the convention, on the 22d January, 1793, passed the iniquitous and impolitic sentence, which doomed the unfortuate Louis XVI. to perish on that scaffold, to which his wife and sister were destined soon to follow him.

General La Fayette, who, at the time, was in prison at Magdeburg, was immediately informed of this event by his jailers, who had the barbarity to attribute to him the death of his King. They furiously burst into the dungeons of Messrs. La Fay-

ette, Maubourg, Puzy, and Alexandre Lameth, loaded them with insults, and told them that their sovereign fortunately had it now in his power to revenge himself upon them, as the prime instigators of the ignominious death of Louis, by consigning them to torture and to death. Even the unfortunate domestics, Felix and Augustus, who were separated from their master, were not spared on this occasion. M. Bureau de Puzy alone understood German, but they all comprehended too well the meaning of these threats; and trembled, not so much for their own fate, as for that of their families in France, as they could easily conceive what might be the fatal results of such political fanaticism. The consequences of this event were terrible indeed; it divided the Convention into two parties, and then followed, in gloomy succession, imprisonments, revolutionary tribunals, scaffolds, assassinations, and the most atrocious tyranny that ever disgraced the annals of history.

These dreadful days of terror and of blood, are now but too well known. I should not, therefore, have alluded to them, had not the families of our illustrious prisoners suffered so severely on their account.

But how shall I delineate the character of that virtuous and admirable woman, how express the profound veneration with which my heart is filled, how depict those qualifications, that rare and heroic

self-devotion, the model of all that is great, and noble, and exalted, which adorned and characterized the too short life of this extraordinary female, whose claim to all the praise we can bestow is enforced by the recollection of how well she deserved the name of *Madame de La Fayette?* We defy the ablest writer to do justice to the merits of this distinguished woman. He may convey some faint idea of her noble character, but can never make his portrait of her virtues faithful and complete. It is entirely out of our power to describe the situation of Madame de la Fayette, when she was informed of the proscription, the flight, and the fetters of her unfortunate husband. It was a blow that almost overpowered her; but her firmness and her courage, instead of abandoning her, rose with the occasion, only to subject her, however, to the test of a still severer trial. She, together with her two daughters, the young Anastasia and Virginia, was confined in the prisons of Paris, because the implacable foes of her husband, unable to glut their rage on him, transferred their vengeance to his unfortunate family, and made the victims of their persecution, a mother and her two young daughters, whose only defence were their virtues and their tears. Madame de la Fayette expected every day the preferment of the charges against her, which at that period was a decree of death; every day she wept over the fate of

her husband and her unfortunate children, and every day she received the news that her friends and relatives had fallen by the guillotine. The extensive property of her husband was confiscated and sold; a portion of her own shared the same fate; while her family, which was among the most opulent as well as the most numerous, was ruined for ever. As for herself, surrounded as she was by the terrors of death, she still remained calm and firm, weeping only for her husband and her children. Her boundless confidence in the decrees of that divine Providence which regulates the destinies of feeble mortals, consoled and supported her. She has often acknowledged to me since, that when the anguish and agony of body and mind had almost deprived her of her senses, she had still resolution enough to suppress her tears, and repair to some corner of her miserable prison, and then offer up a prayer to Heaven, without being perceived by her children, who were fellow prisoners in the same apartment. Afterwards the young companions of her misery shared in her devotions, and they then furnished each other with mutual consolation.

The twenty-seventh day of July, 1794, (9 Thermidor,) put an end to the reign of terror, and hurled the tyrants of France to the dust, from which they sprung. The greater part of the victims who had been doomed to the scaffold, were released from

prison; but Madame de la Fayette could not obtain her liberty for several months after, notwithstanding the active exertions of her numerous friends. We can easily imagine what she must have suffered during more than nineteen months imprisonment, and how her health must have been affected. Her frail and delicate constitution was as it were compelled to obey the influence of her great vivacity, her uncommon strength of mind, and that firmness and moral courage, which so eminently distinguished her. But her health, injured by her sufferings, absolutely required repose and medical assistance. Her friends, the physicians, and all her acquaintance, implored her, in vain, to remain for a few months in the country, where, by care and attention, she might hope to re-establish her health. But her every thought, her whole soul, was at Olmutz; and, impatient to be able to bury herself alive, with her dear, her much loved friend, in his gloomy dungeon, to assuage his grief, or to perish with him, she chided her weakness, silenced her griefs, and set out on her glorious enterprise. There is but one opinion respecting an attachment so ardent, a self devotion so heroic. This act alone, which has immortalized Madame de la Fayette, would serve to show her character; and yet there are a thousand others, which speak a similar language.

After having communicated her unalterable re-

solution to the few friends and relatives that she still had left, and having made the necessary preparations for her journey, she set out from Paris for Strasburg, with her two daughters, the eldest of whom, Anastasia, was sixteen, and the youngest, Virginia, thirteen years of age.

Aware that the name of her husband would prevent her from obtaining access to the Emperor Francis, his chief jailer, she provided herself with an American passport, under the name of Mrs. Mottié, which was one of the Christian names of General La Fayette. She had before sold a portion of her jewels, to provide the necessary means to prosecute her long and painful journey; and so well was the secret of her departure kept, that she had already arrived at Strasburg, while she was still supposed to be at Paris; her porter having received orders to say to all those who called at her hotel in Paris, that Madame de la Fayette had gone to spend some time in the country. She learnt at Strasburg, that she might possibly obtain permission to shorten her route by passing through Lintz and Regensburg, directly to Vienna; but as the Austrian army occupied that country, no one could pass their lines without a written permit from the Archduke Charles, Commander-in-chief of the army. She accordingly despatched one of her husband's former aids de camp to the Prince, to ask for this permission, in the name of Madame Mot-

tié. The Archduke Charles received Colonel Louis Romœuf with his accustomed kindness, and told him that he sincerely regretted that he could not grant the request of Madame Mottié, but that *his hands were tied.* This frank answer sufficiently explains what we have said of the despotic system of Thugut and Saurau, and of the enmity entertained against this Prince, and which the late Empress, his own sister-in-law, shared with the two ministers. Madame de la Fayette was accordingly obliged to pass through Dresden to Vienna, where she found two ladies who were well received at court. Of these one was the wealthy Dutchess of Urselle, an emigrant from Brabant, of amiable manners and lively conversation, and the other the Countess of Windischgrätz, to whom she discovered herself. Both of them highly esteemed La Fayette, and sincerely loved his wife, as soon as they had learnt to know her. They introduced her to some acquaintances, who proved extremely useful to her, particularly to the Prince of Rosenberg, who, full of admiration of the exalted sentiments of Madame de la Fayette, procured for her an audience of the Emperor. As the rank, the fortune, and the qualifications of this Prince, were above the reach of the intrigues of Thugut and Saurau, they were ignorant of this audience until after it had taken place; for the persons interested and initiated into the secret took every precaution to keep it concealed, so that no person could believe that Madame de la Fayette would obtain free access to the Emperor.

Madame de la Fayette surpassed herself on this critical occasion. She summoned all her courage, took her two interesting daughters with her, and accompanied by the Dutchess of Urselle and the Prince of Rosenberg, presented herself before the Emperor, and asked of him, in the name of justice and humanity, to liberate her husband; alleging that he had committed no offence against his majesty; that he had been forced to quit his country, and that his intention was to have embarked for America. That if this request was denied her, she asked permission to see her husband, and share his imprisonment.

She spoke with such eloquence and truth, that a strong impression was made on the naturally well disposed mind of Francis, who heard her with much attention, but with an air of great embarrassment. He reflected for a moment, and then addressed Madame de la Fayette in these few words, in French: "This affair is complicated. *I have not the power to dowhat I would wish,** but I grant with much plea-

* The words of the Emperor, *I have not the power to do what I would wish*, are certainly very extraordinary from the lips of a powerful and absolute monarch. Mr. Charles Fox has ably exposed this inconsistency, in a speech made by him subsequent to that of General Fitzpatrick, from which we have given an extract in the tenth chapter. In the course of this speech, Mr. Fox took occasion to remark as follows:

"Is there a gentleman in this house who entertains a doubt of the answer made by the Emperor to Madame de la Fayette, in reply to the request she addressed to the Prince, during his confinement in

sure what is in my power, by permitting you to join M. de la Fayette, and if I were in your place, I

prison: of the impious alternative that was presented to her in the name of this monarch, and of the reply she made, so worthy of herself? Do we not all know that a government engaged in the most holy of wars, a war waged in defence of religion, humanity, and social order, not only refused this woman, who has rendered herself illustrious, alike by her virtues and misfortunes, that boon, which social order, humanity, and religion, loudly demanded in her behalf,—but as my worthy friend has justly remarked, they have aggravated the crime of their refusal by a refinement of insult and cruelty, in offering her the insidious and aggravating temptation of abandoning the honourable enterprise to which she had devoted herself? Who can estimate, without horror, the price that was set upon the indulgence which they condescended to offer her? Our cruelties have injured your health; you have need of succour, which you can only find at Vienna; you are denied an entrance into that city, but you can go wherever else you please, to find the assistance you require, on condition, however, that you abandon for ever that husband, who has no hope, no consolation, but in you. Will any one attempt to deny the fact of this insulting, this inhuman proposition? Is not the letter which proves it before the public, and is not its authenticity incontestible? Is there, then, the shadow of a doubt as to the crime of the ministers, I will not say who counselled the Emperor, for it is impossible to suppose that he knew any thing of this detestable conduct, but can there be a doubt of the crime of those ministers, who deceive the emperor, write, act, order, torture in his name and without his knowledge, and thus dishonour their master, by a species of cruelty which the tyranny of Robespierre never surpassed. * * * With the same diabolical perversity which incited the ministers of the Emperor to lay snares for the courageous piety of the wife, did they endeavour to seduce the loyalty of the husband; they dared to hope that the brave La Fayette would sully that brilliant reputation which he had so justly acquired, would tarnish those laurels with which his brow was adorned, would

would act as you intend to do. M. de la Fayette *is well treated*, but the presence of his wife and children will be an additional source of gratification to him." Madame de la Fayette then spoke of Messrs. de Maubourg and Bureau de Puzy, and of the servants of her husband's household, adding, that there could be nothing complicated as regarded them.

The Emperor permitted her to write to him after her arrival at Olmutz, and to address her demands directly to his Imperial Majesty, and added very graciously, that he would do every thing that he was able, to prove to her the esteem that he had conceived for her. While he spoke these few words, he looked steadfastly at the young daughters of La Fayette, and then apparently labouring under very great embarrassment, made a rather awkward bow, and retired.

sacrifice that lofty character, which will flourish in the annals of the world, and live in the recorded homage of posterity, when kings and the crowns they wear shall have been levelled with the dust. But La Fayette, while he naturally disapproved of the measures which exiled him from his country, was too magnanimous to favour the designs of those who had leagued against her. So perfidious an act could never approach that heart, which never ceased for an instant to nourish the sacred fire of a patriotism as pure as it was holy. Is this the offence for which you intend to punish him? Are you prepared to advance the doctrine, that they who are dissatisfied with the constitution of their country, not only may, but ought to take up arms to destroy it, under the penalty of being surrendered to the implacable resentment and rage of their enemies? * * * *

Madame de la Fayette had been informed by her friends, that the Emperor would not grant the release of her husband; for they were perfectly well acquainted with the character of the two ministers: she had, however, flattered herself with the hope of obtaining her request, from having heard so much of the goodness of the Emperor's heart; but disappointed in this, she consoled herself with the gracious words of the monarch, and prepared to set out immediately, to see once more the husband she so tenderly loved. She wrote several letters to the Dutchess of Urselle, and to the Countess of Windischgrätz, from the city of Brunn, situated between Vienna and Olmutz, expressive of her joy and admiration, and written in her usual strong, concise, and elegant style. She addressed one, still more worthy of herself, to the Prince of Rosenberg, wherein she expressed all the gratitude she felt, and the happiness she now experienced, after she had been abandoned by every ray of hope and prospect of enjoyment.

But this delightful illusion vanished, alas! too soon; and the dreadful reality proved to her, how she had been imposed on, and how this feeble monarch had erred, entirely ignorant, as he was, of the deplorable situation of General La Fayette, whom he had just assured her *was very well treated.*

Our readers have already seen what this treatment was.

CHAPTER XIV.

Circumstances which operated to prevent the liberation of La Fayette, Maubourg, and Puzy. Detail of the motives which led the author to proceed from Hamburg to Olmutz and Vienna, in the beginning of the year 1796.

Madame de Latour Maubourg and Madame Bureau de Puzy, had been imprisoned, together with Madame de la Fayette, at Paris, during the reign of terror. After they had regained their freedom, they attempted, but in vain, to rejoin their husbands. Permission was refused them to enter the Austrian dominions, and they were consequently obliged to remain in the environs of Paris.

They were not acquainted with the innocent stratagem which Madame de la Fayette had resorted to, in order to obtain her passport. I mean that of retaining only one of her husband's names, and of procuring, through the mediation of the American ambassador, who resided at Paris, a pass, under the name of Madame Mottié. As there was no suspicion attached to this name, the Austrian police did not attempt to oppose her. She had so caution-

ed and instructed her two daughters, and a trusty servant who accompanied her, that nobody suspected who she was, until she arrived at Vienna, at the house of the Dutchess d'Urselle, an old acquaintance and friend.

France was about this time rescued from the tyranny of the elder Robespierre, by the courage of the representative Legendre, who marched at the head of a body of brave men against the Jacobin club, drove them from the hall which they occupied, and brought the keys to the National Assembly. But the tranquillity of the government was by no means established. The convention nominated, for members of the Executive Directory, men whose want of popularity increased the discontent of the nation, and contributed, in no small measure, to the unhappy agitations which afterwards ensued.

The years 1795 and 96, exhibit an extraordinary picture of the mad extravagance of human passions. When we consider the rapid progress of political events, the alliance of Spain with France, the disguised exertions and intrigues of England to prolong the war, her ostensible attempts to negotiate a peace, the arrogant and unconstitutional conduct of the French government, the feeble and imprudent measures adopted by the legislative body, the boldness and indiscretion of the royalists, the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, the proscriptions which this revolution gave rise to, and all the numberless vicissi-

tudes of that eventful period, we cannot be astonished that the cries of the three unhappy prisoners at Olmutz, should be drowned and forgotten in the tempestuous ocean of political disorder and military discord. There were, however, other reasons why no interference was made in their behalf, which we propose at present briefly to enumerate.

General La Fayette, proscribed, condemned, and compelled to quit his army and his country, because a party of factious disorganizers feared his popularity, integrity, courage, and beneficent principles, was never allowed an opportunity to refute the absurd accusations preferred against him by his enemies. It was his peculiar fate to be driven, by the bitter persecutions of Jacobin demagogues, into the power and prisons of Jacobin despots.

La Fayette had unquestionably the mass of the French people in his favour; but as a leader is always necessary to urge them to good or incite them to evil, there was no one among them who had courage enough to raise his voice in favour of a man, who had so faithfully struggled to procure for them a wise and well regulated liberty, without once compromitting, in the smallest degree, his political honour. La Fayette had ever been the true and steady friend of genuine liberty; and the worthless few who attempted to defeat his generous purposes, disgraced themselves for ever, by their frantic attack upon his character and conduct. In the same way Dumouriez

was subsequently put down by Bureau de Puzy,* and was reduced to a state of silent humiliation, from which he never afterwards recovered.

The greater part of the first authors of the French revolution, as the notables, the members of the constituent and legislative assembly, the nobility, and the officers of the army, had either gone into voluntary exile, or had died, or had perished on the scaffold. All that remained of worth or virtue in France, was now confined to the army. Honest men were thus deprived of all political influence whatever; and of course, incapable, with the best intentions, of rendering essential service to General La Fayette or his companions in misfortune.

The Directory system was an incongruous mixture of tyranny, imbecility, solemn pretension, and barefaced corruption. Among its members were found very few of the friends of political order and genuine liberty; and these few, among whom were Carnot and Barthelemy, were expelled, persecuted, or arrested. The great majority of the members were blindly led by a few artful intriguers, such as Barras, Rewbel, and La Reveillère Lepaux. It is not at all suprising, then, that neither the

* The reader is referred to the memoirs of Dumouriez and the reply of Bureau de Puzy. Of these, the former made a violent attack upon General La Fayette, which de Puzy refuted shortly after his liberation from Olmutz.

Convention, the committee of eleven, nor the Directory seemed inclined to attempt the liberation of La Fayette, the friend of order and of the people's rights; a man who could have effected an entire change in the Directory, which had now lost the confidence of all good men; a man who had still many thousands of friends, who would not hesitate to rally around him as soon as he returned; a man who, in short, could, at a word, have humbled to the dust these worthless pretenders, who had incurred general dissatisfaction at home, and universal contempt and abhorrence abroad.

The Directory had reason to apprehend the influence which the probity and purity of La Fayette might command: and a system governed by a sincere regard to the public welfare, was not one which suited the views or dispositions of men like Barras, Reubel, and La Reveillère Lepaux. All these circumstances combined to prevent the influential men of France from interposing in behalf of the prisoners; and when they were addressed on the subject, they usually replied, that as soon as public business allowed it, the affair should receive their serious consideration. But, they added, the vicissitudes of the war, the pay and support of their numerous armies, the constant movements of the troops, along with the dissentions, conspiracies, and insurrections in the interior of the republic, so wholly engrossed their time

and attention, that they really could not consult the private interests of three individuals, while they had so many millions to watch, to guide, and to protect. Yet who is ignorant of the infamous misuse this triumvirate made of the time they affected to estimate so highly; and who does not know how ready they were to exchange the daughter of Louis XVI. for men every way inferior to the three prisoners at Olmutz.

That which no consideration of justice nor of equity could effect, was accomplished in consequence of a distant relationship existing between Barras, the President of the Directory, and the late Intendant of the Isle of France, generally known by the name of M. Poivre, (Mr. Pepper,) because he was the first who introduced the pepper tree into the islands belonging to France. This gentleman was the father of Madame Bureau de Puzy, and at his death left her a very considerable fortune. His widow subsequently married M. Dupont de Nemours,* well known as an author and a politician, who by this connexion, became the father-in-law of the man of whom he was formerly the colleague and the friend.

M. Dupont de Nemours reminded the all-power-

* M. Dupont de Nemours is a man of great intelligence and talents, and was a member of the constituent Assembly, over which he, at one time, presided. He is also the author of a very curious treatise on the language of birds, which contains many philosophical speculations, altogether original.

ful Director of the ties of consanguinity, which connected his wife with the Barras family, and urged the necessity of doing, as cousin of Madame de Puzy, what he could not or would not do, in his civil or political capacity. Barras was not unaware that both in Paris and in the departments, the situation of the Olmutz prisoners, was a frequent subject of conversation, and that the noble reply of Madame de la Fayette to the Governor, was particularly admired. He knew that great astonishment had been frequently expressed, that the Directory had hitherto made no serious attempt to redemand the prisoners, and that some of the members had replied to those who urged the interference of government, that nothing could be done to assist them, because their names were down on the list of the emigrants! A most absurd and disgraceful evasion!

These murmurs, which were carefully reported by the police to the Directory, combined with the relationship of Barras with Madame de Puzy, induced the president to grant that lady a particular and private audience, in which she received the most positive assurances, that some attempt should be made in favour of the prisoners. Barras, who was by no means destitute of generous sympathies, treated Madame de Puzy with great kindness; and she returned to communicate the good news to Madame de Maubourg; so that now for a time,

they cherished the pleasing hope, that their husbands would shortly be restored to their arms.

Not long after this, (towards the end of the year 1796,) the Directory issued orders to Generals Bonaparte and Moreau, to seize the first favourable opportunity to claim the three prisoners at the hand of the Austrian emperor.

We must now inform the reader, what in the mean time occured to the staff officers, aids de camp, and the other friends of General La Fayette. In the ninth chapter we mentioned that twenty-three officers left the camp with the General, supposing that his object was to reconnoitre the enemy's posts. Among those who insisted upon sharing his misfortune, were Messrs. Auguste Masson, Victor Latour Maubourg, René Pillet, and Charles Cadignan, who, when Messrs. la Fayette, Maubourg, Puzy, and Alexandre Lameth, were delivered into the hands of the Prussians, and conducted to Wesel, were unable to obtain permission to follow their General. On the contrary, they were shortly after taken to Namur, and there confined in chains. As no plausible charge was ever alleged against them, they were finally released, after being deprived of their watches, their money, their horses, and of every thing valuable about them. Their names had been inserted by the government on the list of the emigrants; their property sequestrated, and their families

thrown into prison. Under these circumstances, reduced to absolute indigence, without even the hope of obtaining the smallest assistance from France, each of them was forced to rely upon his own unassisted exertions. To the honour of these officers be it said, that not one of them would serve under Condé, nor against their country in any other shape whatever, although that country had treated them with great severity, although they were suffering in poverty and distress, and had never engaged in any other occupation than the profession of arms. They steadily refused from such a quarter, every proposition of active service, although accompanied by very advantageous conditions; a proof, that General La Fayette had made a selection of staff officers, in all respects worthy of himself.

M. Auguste Masson, after having gone first to England, established himself in business at Hamburgh; but as the military spirit, in which he had been educated, and his frank and liberal character, but ill accorded with the cold and narrow minded calculations of commerce, he preferred the proposal which had been made to him by M. Ramé,* an old friend of both himself and General La Fayette, to erect an establishment at Hamburgh, for the pur-

* With Mr. Ramé, who is now at Antwerp, I was very well acquainted. He afterwards built the great Exchange at Hamburg, known by the name of the Börsenhalle, (Exchange Hall.)

pose of furnishing the interior of houses in a new and magnificent style. M. Ramé was the fashionable architect; and as about this time (1795 and 96) Hamburgh became a very opulent city, from the ample commerce it enjoyed, the inhabitants began to indulge in a display of almost Asiatic luxury. Many of them built country seats, which vied in splendour with the palaces of kings, and were superbly furnished by M. Masson, while the architecture was directed by M. Ramé. Their house (for they lived together) was the rendezvous of the friends and relatives of General La Fayette. Here the ci-devant Duke de Lusignan, one of the descendants of the King of Jerusalem, whom La Fayette, his cousin, used frequently in sport, to address with the title of your Majesty,* gave an account of the number of waistcoats he had sold in the course of the day. Here the former physician of General La Fayette, Dr. Regnault, told us the names of all the pretty women, whose pulses he had felt; for the Doctor was a fine looking man, dressed with great elegance and taste, kept a magnificent equipage, and could often say sprightly and always agreeable things. He cured his patients, principally, by his lively sallies, and pleasant anecdotes; which in a short

* The Duke de Lusignan, was a lineal descendant of the famous Lusignan, who in the time of the crusades was created King of Jerusalem and Palestine.

time brought him so greatly into vogue that the ladies of Hamburgh would never believe that their colds were radically cured, until the French doctor had seen them. The greater part of the physicians of the place were undoubtedly very able men, but too grave and phlegmatic; and of course, could not suit a young and pretty woman, as well as Dr. Regnault. He died many years ago, and I owe it to his memory to say, that he was sincerely attached to General La Fayette, had an excellent heart, and rendered very considerable services to many of his emigrant fellow citizens, whom he frequently rescued from the very depths of misery.

M. Masson was intimately acquainted with a Prussian captain, who had retired from service after the seven years' war, in which he received several wounds, which lamed him for life. This was M. Auguste d'Archenholtz, Knight of the Prussian military order of the Cross of merit, founded by Frederic II. to reward such as had particularly distinguished themselves in the seven years' war. Archenholtz was a German and a celebrated author;* and re-

* M. d'Archenholtz died in Hamburg. He wrote a work which gives him great celebrity, entitled *England and Italy, by Captain A. M. d'Archenholtz.* It is a highly interesting book, written in a very agreeable style; but his partiality was so great, that he applauded to the skies whatever England was any way concerned in, and in the same degree decried and undervalued Italy and her inhabitants. This prejudice was so strong, that I could not help availing myself

sided for a long time in Berlin, where I first made his acquaintance. In his *Minerva*, he published a great variety of independent and well written articles, on different political subjects. In this journal, he attacked the dark and dangerous policy of the mysterious *Wölner*, who, during the reign of the feeble Frederic William II. King of Prussia, and successor to the great Frederic, contrived by intrigue, and sycophantic subserviency, and particularly by means of the protection of William's mistress, the notorious Countess of Lichtenau, to rise

of my acquaintance with the author, so far as to tell him that he had made England a paradise and Italy a hell—Englishmen angels and Italians devils. He laughed heartily at the observation, and acknowledged its force; but made no alteration in the subsequent editions, which succeeded each other with great rapidity in Germany. This work has been translated into English, French, Italian, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Polish, and Russian, and produced a very great sensation. He published afterwards the *British Annals*, a very voluminous, but interesting work, the *Life of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden*, a succinct and very interesting *history of the seven years' war*, and a political and literary monthly Journal called *the Minerva*, which enjoyed a very large subscription. M. d'Archenholtz was one of the few who grow rich on the profits of literature; for he owned a very handsome house in Hamburg, lived in great elegance, and had besides considerable funds in the Hamburg bank.

His wounds, and his sedentary life, reduced him to such a feeble state of health, that he was almost always obliged to ride in his carriage, and to support himself by the most nutritious broths and roast meat cut up into very small slices. I was one day present when he had nearly died in consequence of swallowing a mouthful rather larger than usual.

from the station of schoolmaster, in an obscure village of Brandeburg, to the elevated rank of minister of state, and favourite of his sovereign the King. The Prussians will, for a long time, remember this man, for the inveterate rancour with which he persecuted many highly deserving and respectable men.

In consequence of the independent tone of his journal, Captain d'Archenholtz was compelled to take refuge in the free Hanseatic town of Hamburg, where the liberty of the press was under fewer restraints than any where else in Germany. In March, 1793, while General La Fayette was a prisoner in Magdeburg, he found means to convey to him a long and interesting article in the Minerva in favour of the prisoners. As Archenholtz had talents and information, and as his principles were liberal and patriotic, he was so indignant at the treatment which General La Fayette and his companions were made to undergo, that he denounced at the same time, the party who had proscribed him and the royal coalition which exercised its vengeance on him and his friends. La Fayette received the number safely, and found an opportunity to express his acknowledgments to the author, in a very handsome letter in reply, but too long for us to insert.* It is addressed to the Chevalier d'Arch-

* We engage to furnish our readers with a translation of this letter in a second edition, if this meets with the reception we ven-

enholtz, and dated Magdeburg, 27th March, 1793. Among other things, the General observeds, "Since my captivity, but one political paper has reached my hands, yours for the month of February. I appreciate with deep sensibility, the justice you render my sentiments, and the approbation you bestow upon my conduct. Your commendations are greatly beyond my deserts, but your kind exaggerations contain, at this moment, something so generous, that I cannot withhold from you my thanks, that you have enabled me to hear the voice of liberty honouring my tomb.

"My situation is peculiarly strange. I had sacrificed my republican partialities to the circumstances and wishes of the nation; I obeyed the sovereign power where I found it vested—in the constitution. My popularity was as great as I could desire, for the legislative body protected me better on the 8th of August, than it defended itself on the 10th; but I became obnoxious to the Jacobins, because I reprobated their aristocracy, which aimed at usurping all legitimate authority.

"From Constantinople to Lisbon, from Kamstchatka to Amsterdam, (for I am unpopular with the house of Orange,) every Bastile is ready to receive me. The Huron and Iroquois forests are peopled

ture to anticipate. We have been sufficiently fortunate to obtain a copy from an unquestionable source.

with my friends; the despots and the courts of Europe—they are the only savages I fear! I am aware, that although the court of St. James is opposed to me, yet the laws of England would protect me; but I cannot seek a country at war with my own. *America, the country of my heart*, would welcome me with joy. Yet my fears for the future destinies of France, induce me to give the preference to Switzerland, at least, for a time."

Archenholtz, whose conduct has been represented in a variety of colours, for he had a great number of enemies, possessed, in fact, many excellent qualities, as I can state from my personal acquaintance with him. He was a man ever ready to render services, the uniform advocate of republican and liberal principles, an ardent and generous friend, and an enthusiastic admirer of General La Fayette, whom, nevertheless, he had not hitherto known.

His political essays were couched in language so eloquent and so bold, that many complaints were made on the part of the Ministers of Austria and Prussia, to the Senate of Hamburg, who, with great propriety, observed the usual formalities*

* When an author or bookseller who was a citizen of Hamburg, had roused the resentment of any of the diplomatists who resided in that town, he was summoned to appear before the Prætor, and there he was informed, that such a person had lodged a complaint against him in the Senate, in the name of his sovereign; and that, in consequence of this complaint, the Prætor was called upon

against him, and then assured the whole fraternity of ministerial slaves, that M. d'Archenholtz would moderate his style; whereas, in a few months after, he began to speak and to write with more freedom than before.

General La Fayette and his companions in misfortune, had the highest esteem for Captain d'Archenholtz, who was the first German who interested himself in their situation, and who proved himself, at all times, their faithful friend. He was equally mine, for it was through his intervention that I was enabled to enjoy the honour of contributing to the enlargement of General La Fayette, Latour Maubourg, and Bureau de Puzy. He died some years since at Hamburg, sincerely regretted by us all.*

to request the author to moderate his language, and not expose the Senate to disagreeable involvements. The Senate then officially informed the diplomatist, that the offender had appeared before the Prætor, and had been told of the complaint which had been lodged against him, and thus ended the farce.

There are some instances in which writings too free have been confiscated: but as, about this time, the liberty of the press was sacred at Hamburg, the whole edition could seldom or never be seized. The Senate was wisely satisfied with seizing a few copies, and sent them to the Minister who had made the complaint, to give him at least the shadow of satisfaction. The edition then sold with increased rapidity.

* I make use of this expression, *us* all, because it was the favourite one of Madame de la Fayette, whenever she meant to designate her family, including Messrs. Maubourg, Puzy, Masson,

La Fayette had, besides, other distinguished friends at Hamburg; and among these, Mr. John Parish, the American Consul; the American Colonel Morris; M. Reinhardt, the French Minister, who had married a daughter of Dr. Reimarus, and sister of the wife of Sieveking, the merchant of whom we have already spoken; Mr. David Schuchmacher, a very respectable and very liberal merchant; Mr. Henry Haupt; Drs. Lappenberg and Chauffepié; M. d'Abbémar, Minister of the Batavian republic; Kerner and Reinholdt, the French and Batavian secretaries of legation; with a great many others, distinguished for their talents, wealth, and liberal opinions.

Many celebrated writers in Germany, have written pamphlets innumerable in favour of General La Fayette, which always afford me the greatest pleasure in their perusal. The consequence of this has been, that the General possesses, as I can assure my readers, even in the obscurest villages of Austria, warm and faithful friends. Of this I shall give abundant evidence.

In December, 1795, I was at Hamburg, at the house of Captain d'Archenholtz. He spoke to me, with great warmth and feeling, respecting the melan-

Pillet, Romœuff, and myself. She has told me a thousand times, with the most flattering demonstrations of kindness, that I had acquired rights which made me part of the family. General La Fayette never called me otherwise than his friend Feldmann, and under this title he has introduced me to many persons during his recent stay in New-York.

choly situation of the prisoners, and asked me if I was inclined to do any thing to assist them. I eagerly embraced the proposal, and told him that no consideration should restrain me, and that I was ready to make every attempt to release them from their barbarous imprisonment.

Messrs. John Parish, Archenholtz, and Masson, in their frequent consultations together, watched with great zeal and solicitude the tortuous progress of the secret negotiations of the English and French diplomatists, to see when La Fayette and his companions became the subject of discussion. These three gentlemen were very well acquainted with several members of the British Parliament, and with persons initiated into the mysteries of the quintuple cabinet of the Luxembourg at Paris. But their inquiries left them not the smallest shadow of hope. Promises had been frequently made, but made only to be violated.* These three gentlemen then admitted several others into their views, and it was resolved to despatch secretly an agent to Olmutz, to ascertain precisely the situation of the prisoners, and

* The Director Barras, in consequence of his relationship with Madame de Puzy, had set on foot several negotiations at the cabinet of Vienna, to bring about the liberation of Mr. Bureau de Puzy, separately from the rest. This gentleman, however, constantly refused to leave his prison, unless his two friends were comprised in the order for his enlargement; and, in fact, he remained with them until they were finally liberated together, upwards of a year subsequent to this event.

to inform them of the intentions of their friends, in order to act with more prospect of success, and, if possible, to effect their escape from confinement. But the difficulty was, to find a person of confidence and courage, probity and prudence enough, to qualify him for a mission so important. It was necessary, besides, that he should be able to speak German perfectly well, in order to avoid all possible suspicion.

Several persons were successively proposed, but there was always found something to object to; and the parties agreed to use their separate efforts to find the man who possessed the requisite qualifications.

The conversation which passed between Captain d'Archenholtz and myself instantaneously suggested to his mind that I was the man they wanted. As he knew me thoroughly, he could easily vouch for my fitness and fidelity. I obtained the suffrages of all, and immediately prepared to set out. As I had already procured a furlough on account of my health, and as I was engaged in the service of the republic, rather as a volunteer than as lieutenant colonel with pay, I knew that I could easily obtain an extension of the term from the minister of war. I wrote accordingly, and left the arrangement of this business to my friends at Paris, telling them that family affairs of great urgency, would probably detain me a longer time in Holstein than I myself desired.

I had then several very long conferences with Messrs. D'Archenholtz, Masson, and Sieveking.

Having provided myself with a large packet of important despatches, money, bills of exchange, and letters of credit, to the amount of 200,000 Austrian florins, I set out from Hamburg in March, 1796. I had purchased a very elegant berlin, and my servant was faithful, clever, and discreet. My carriage was full of secret places, in which I concealed my numerous papers, my gold, my bills of exchange, and letters of credit; and John, who had served me from an early age, was initiated into all these mysteries, in order that he might be able to assist me in case of necessity.

But it was essentially requisite for me to change my costume and my name, because mine was too generally known throughout Germany. Sieveking and Archenholtz advised me to pass for a Swede, to assume another name and a title. They thought, that with these precautions, with a thorough knowledge of German, and something of Swedish, I would be able to extricate myself from any occasional dilemma. Captain d'Archenholtz took me the next day to the house of his friend, the Baron de Nordensköldt, secretary of the Swedish legation. After speaking a few words in private, which, Archenholtz afterwards told me, related to my pretended business in Austria and Silesia, the Baron asked me to leave my name, place of birth, age, &c. and added, that he would prepare my passport in the course of that day, and send it to me, signed by Mr. Claas Peyron, the Swedish Minister, who

was at that time at Hamburg. I had previously selected my fictitious name, and was accordingly metamorphosed into a Swedish merchant, of the name of Peter Feldmann.

I armed myself and my servant with sabres, pistols and dirks, and took leave of my friends, after settling upon a plan of secret correspondence, with an entire change of names. I travelled night and day, as my instructions, and the information of which I was the bearer, were of the utmost importance to the prisoners. I thus passed rapidly through Leipsic, Dresden, Bautzen, to the frontiers of Bohemia, where the Austrian custom houses were situated, on a high mountain, in a little village called Peterswald. I arrived at this place about 8 A. M. and was obliged to submit to a very strict search: the keys were then demanded of my trunk, which was strapped and chained fast to the carriage. I handed them to John, and was about composing myself to sleep, being excessively fatigued, when I was roused by a dispute between my servant and the officers, about some meat and chocolate, which they declared to be prohibited, while my servant, who was a German, contradicted them stoutly. I soon settled the dispute by a present of a few florins to the principal officer, stating that the chocolate was medicated, by order of my physician, for my own use. My money had the desired

effect; for no sooner did he see the *siebzehners*, (Austrian coins, each of the value of two thirds of a florin, as near as I remember) in his own hand, than he ordered all things to be replaced, and very respectfully wished me a pleasant journey. I now directed my servant to obviate all delays by seasonable presents, which plan was followed with the desired effect. When we arrived at Kreutsnitz, the seals of the custom-house were attached to my trunks, without my servant's perceiving it. At the next stage, I wished to open one of my trunks, and saw with great surprise that the emperor's double-headed eagle was attached to the whole of my baggage. I ordered John, notwithstanding, to tear off the seal and open the trunk. About two hours after, I again changed horses: what was my surprise at beholding an excise officer examining the broken seals, and crying out like a madman that I was smuggling goods into the territories of his Majesty, the emperor and king, and that he would accuse the man who had dared to violate the sacred characters of the imperial seal. John gave him two gold ducats, and told him that some vagabond rascal must have committed the enormity, whereupon my gentleman was perfectly satisfied.

The following pleasant adventure occurred to me in the course of the journey. I arrived at six o'clock in the evening at Hohenmauth, and as I always had a courier before me to prepare horses, &c., I often slept in the carriage while the horses were changed.

That evening my servant waked me, to say that the post master wished me to alight, as he had a word to say to me privately. I complied, and was hastily led by him into a handsome apartment. He begged me to remain with him during the night, as the road was infested with robbers; and then opening a window, he pointed to a crowd which was assembled at a neighbouring tavern, into which had been conveyed shortly before, the village surgeon, (*Kreis-physikus,*) shockingly wounded by highwaymen, by whom he had been stripped of all his property. The post master seized me by the hands, and conjured me earnestly to stay the night with him, adding, that at daylight, I might resume my journey with perfect safety. I was still unwilling to consent, being so pressed for time, when he introduced me into a saloon, where a large company was assembled; and, in order to attract my attention, he desired his daughter, a young lady of about eighteen, to sing and play something to amuse the gentleman, after which, I was requested to favour the company with a song. This hospitality and kindness pleased me so much, that when I was asked if I would not eat something, thinking myself in a tavern, I called out lustily for a good supper. The table, which was well furnished, was set in the same room. I took part in the conversation during the repast, after which, I ordered my horses, having remained with

them more than an hour. The family pressed me to stay, but as that was impossible, I asked the host for my bill; he replied very politely, that he was post-master to the Emperor, and did not keep tavern; that he had received me with pleasure, as he could readily perceive I was a man of *high* birth, as well as a pleasant companion; that he had been delighted with my society, and that I owed him nothing whatever. I was a little mortified at the question I had asked, and fearful I had unintentionally offended him; so I made the best excuse I could, and quieted my conscience by paying his servant.

He told me, as he conducted me to the carriage, that he had taken the precaution to supply me with two loaded muskets, and four excellent horses of his own, with two postillions, armed with sabres and pistols; that, until I reached a certain hill, all was safe, but, beyond that, the road passed through a thick forest for three leagues, and that here, the robbers, who were deserters from the Austrian army, were concealed in great numbers. When, therefore, we reached the hill, I shut up the carriage entirely, and placed myself in front, with the servant, both completely armed. I ordered him to keep watch behind and before and on the left, while I took care of the right. The two postillions were old dragoons attached to the post, and well armed, as I had been told by the post master. I promised

them a ducat a piece, if they kept a sharp look out. The moon now shone upon us, and presented us the dismal sight of thick woods, bordering each side of the highway. We had travelled scarce half an hour, when a whistle was heard behind, and instantly answered on both sides of us. I called to the postillions not to be alarmed, but to hurry on. The signal whistles were answered in every direction, and instantly after we were fired on. Two men now crossed the road not a hundred yards before us, but perceiving we were all four completely armed, they disappeared; several shots were fired at us, but we escaped unhurt.

When we arrived at Leutomichel, the horses forced us past the guard, stationed at the gate of the city to examine the passports and baggage of travellers, in spite of all our endeavours, and directed their course full speed for the post office, where they stopped. The carriage was soon surrounded by a dozen dragoons, all crying out together, that I must go before the commandant of the station, who was Major of this regiment. I told the corporal of the guard that I was the owner of the carriage, and although it was unnecessary to stop me, yet I would go with him directly to the house of the commandant. He now grew particularly polite, and sending away the guard, conducted me to the house of the Major, who had just gone to bed, and was

very angry at being awaked so unseasonably. He asked me roughly who I was, and how I had the audacity to interrupt his slumbers, accompanying his words with the most horrible execrations. I quietly told him what had occurred to me, how I had come, and after he had read my passport, he made a thousand apologies, and instantly sent a company of dragoons, as I advised, into the wood in which I had been attacked, where they apprehended three of the robbers, as I afterwards learned.

My readers will recollect what occurred at Prague, with the president of the police.* I afterwards learned the following particulars, which will serve to explain the affair.

The French minister at Hamburg, Mr. Reinhardt, had invited me to dine with a private company, with Mr. Sieveking, his brother-in-law, a few days after I had agreed to the proposition of Captain d'Archenholtz, to take charge of the mission to Olmutz. This was made the subject of conversation at the table, and Mr. Sieveking advised me to change my name, dress, &c. A number of servants were present, and one of them informed the Austrian minister, Baron de Buel Schauenstein, that a French Colonel was about to set off, under disguise, for Olmutz. It appeared, however, that no regard was paid to this in-

* Chapter xii.

formation by this minister, otherwise I certainly should have been stopped at Peterswalde, Aussig, and at the other towns on the frontiers, wherever the agents and officers of the police were established, and nothing short of a miracle could have saved me. Another imprudent act of one of our friends, whom I do not wish to name, as he is still living, had nearly ruined us. As soon as I had consented to undertake the mission to Olmutz, proposed by Mr. d'Archenholtz, he informed the committee; and so anxious was this friend to give the prisoners information of the fact, through Messrs. Hirsch and Passy, that he contrived the following plan, as the most probable means of conveying a letter to them, with information of my intended arrival. He bought a German bible, had it superbly bound, and concealed within the binding of the cover a letter, addressed to Mr. Gilbert, without any signature, and enclosed the whole, first in paper, then in a pasteboard, and finally a tarpaulin, and addressed it to Mr. Hirsch, banker, at Olmutz. He then put it under the special charge of the driver of a diligence, which was going to Hanover, with directions to deliver it in charge of the person who relieved him, and so on to the person to whom it was addressed. The packet arrived thus at the frontier which divides Lusace from Bohemia, at Peterswalde, the place which I passed through six weeks after. This same friend addressed a letter to

Mr. Hirsch, by mail, stating that he had forwarded *an uncommonly valuable bible to certain friends.* As soon as the driver of the diligence informed the agent of the police, and the excise officer, at Peterswalde, that the package contained a bible, they thought it their duty to intercept it; they therefore carried it to the president of the police, at Prague, for condemnation, under the decree, forbidding wicked and philosophical books to be introduced into Austria. This decree of his imperial majesty is singularly expressive. It reads as follows:

"In order that seditious and philosophical opinions may not enter our empire, to trouble and annoy our faithful subjects; in order that the infamous jacobinism, and the murderous and execrable doctrines, promulgated by the assassins of the King of France, may not find their way into our peaceful dominions, we decree," &c.

When the packet was opened by the police of Prague, a very visible elevation was discovered in one of the covers, which awakening suspicion, it was further examined, and the letter discovered, written in English, and addressed to Mr. Gilbert, (General La Fayette,) which stated that a French officer, a friend of the prisoners, was about to come, and render them a very great service. The bible, we have already observed, was addressed to Mr. Hirsch, and the letter, intended for La Fayette, directed

"*To Madame Gilbert.*" I have mentioned that we had adopted fictitious names and terms, in order to correspond with our friends at Hamburg and Paris, in a mercantile style, at the same time that our letters conveyed the requisite information to those possessed of the key to their contents. Thus, General La Fayette and lady were called Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert, their daughters the pearls; Louis Latour Maubourg, Mr. Kant; Puzy, Mr. West; Hirsch, La Fleur, &c. &c.

The following letter is one I had occasion to write to Hamburg, and will serve as a specimen: "I have received advices from the Gilberts, who direct me to hold their pearls till further notice. Messrs. Kant and West were obliged to leave their merchandise* behind, and were very uneasy until I informed them of its safe arrival at their counting rooms. Our friends, La Fleur, Passy, &c. are very active, and afford me great assistance in the disposal of the merchandise, which you have consigned to an excellent market, &c."

Such letters, which contained all necessary information, never could excite the least suspicion. Accordingly, though frequently opened, they were resealed and forwarded to the person addressed, who was Captain d'Archenholtz, under the assumed name of Mr. John Bitter, Merchant, Hamburg. I also

* Their families.

wrote direct to Messrs. Sieveking & Schuchmacher. Hirsch wrote by the same means, and our letters were never intercepted, nor did they excite the least suspicion. The police where the bible and letter were discovered, sent the whole to the president of the police at Olmutz, with directions to watch Mr. Hirsch in this affair. Fortunately Mr. Hirsch was a man universally respected, and moreover an intimate friend of the president's. He pretended violent resentment at such unworthy suspicions, and boldly accused the president at Prague of a conspiracy against his honour and reputation, said the whole was a wicked forgery got up to ruin him, and that he would go directly to Vienna, and complain personally to his majesty. He talked so loudly and successfully, that the president took great pains to pacify him, being fully persuaded that the whole was the result of malevolence; and thus the affair was hushed up. On my arrival, as a stranger direct from Hamburg, six weeks after this circumstance had transpired, of which I knew not a syllable, the suspicions of the president revived; but the reader has seen how, by means of Mr. Sieveking's foresight, I was enabled to extricate myself from this difficulty.

CHAPTER XV.

Arrival of the author at Olmutz. His correspondence with Madame de la Fayette. Some remarks on the friends of the prisoners in Olmutz, Hirsch, Passy, Kreutschke, and Maquelico. Interview of the author with these gentlemen. Ancedotes entirely new. Excursion to Braunseifen and Eulenberg. Return to Olmutz.

On arriving at the gates of the town of Olmutz, the officer of the guard subjected me to a more rigorous examination than I experienced at Prague. But seeing that my papers were perfectly accurate, and convinced above all by the sight of my brilliant equipage, he was satisfied with retaining my passport, dispensed with my going in person to the police, and treated me in all respects with marked civility. On arriving at the Three Swans, I was immediately surrounded by a crowd of inquisitive spectators, amongst whom I suspected there might be some spies of the police; and in order to get rid of their disagreeable society, I sent a messenger to the banker Hirsch, requesting him to come and receive an old and faithful friend, who was impatient

to embrace him. The banker, greatly astonished, knowing nothing of my arrival, nor even that I meant to come, inquired of the servant, whom I had hired according to the custom of all strangers of distinction who travel in Germany, what was my name, and former place of residence; to this the servant replied, that I was a Baron; but that he did not know my name. Hirsch, who had a great deal of presence of mind, and who, as he afterwards told me, thought it probable, that this request was, in some way, connected with the interests of the prisoners, asked no further questions, but immediately repaired to the hotel. I had taken a suite of three handsome apartments, of which the two first were left open, and the third which I occupied remained shut until the arrival of Hirsch, who was followed by my servants and the landlord. As soon as the banker was announced, I hastened to meet him, and embraced him with feelings of the liveliest gratitude for what he had already done for the prisoners, and of which I had been previously informed at Hamburg. At the same time I whispered in his ear, "I am *Feldmann, the friend of Gilbert*—embrace me as you would an old acquaintance!" This was but the affair of an instant; and Hirsch, who immediately comprehended me, performed his part so well, that the spies were deceived, and imagined that we were really old and intimate

friends. The landlord very respectfully desired to to know my commands, and I requested him to bring us some seltzer water, and sugar, with a bottle of the best Rhenish in his cellar, and afterwards to prepare a good supper for myself and my friend Hirsch, who agreed to remain with me, as I was too much fatigued to go out. Being now left alone with him, I handed him the slip of paper from Sieveking, of which I have already spoken; and confidence and friendship were speedily established between us. At supper, we arranged what account we were to give to those who might inquire, with respect to our old acquaintanceship, and connexion in business. It was determined that I should pass for a rich merchant of Stockholm, who had been educated in Germany, and who was travelling partly for pleasure and partly to settle business of consequence with the house of Hirsch and others.

He then made me favourable representations of Passy and Kreutschke, and told me that M. and Madame de la Fayette and their children, as well as the other prisoners, were in *tolerable* health, and would be delighted to hear of my arrival, particularly Madame de la Fayette, who was in very low spirits, in consequence of not having heard, for some time past, of her son George, then in America, or of any of her friends who were abroad. I then told him, that I was the bearer of large packets both from

America and from France, which contained information of the utmost importance to them, but that they were stowed away in the hiding places of my berlin, from which I could not procure them until the next day, because the carriage had been immediately sent to the coach-house. He then asked me if I could not give him a short note to send to the prisoners the news of my arrival and my designs, which he would send the next morning to the surgeon: I accordingly wrote the following communication. "An old and true friend of your family, my dear General, and of your companions in misfortune, is just arrived within the walls of Olmutz. He is impatient to hear from you, and will contrive to put into your possession letters from many of your dearest friends, who, as well as your son George, are in perfect health. Preserve your courage, and depend, in all cases, as long as he lives, upon your warm and faithful friend. P. Feldmann".

Having folded and sealed this letter with all possible care, I gave it to Hirsch, who promised to convey it, the following morning, by means of the surgeon, to Madame de la Fayette, who was not as closely watched as her husband.

The astonishment and joy of the prisoners in receiving such a letter, just at a time when they were beginning to despair, may better be imagined than described. M. and Madame de la Fayette have since

told me, that, as they did not know me under my fictitious name, they exhausted themselves in conjecturing who this P. Feldmann could be.

Madame de la Fayette, whose imagination and quickness of comprehension had not suffered in the least, notwithstanding her melancholy situation and weak state of health, went into her daughters' room and wrote me these lines, which will never be effaced from my memory: "Whosoever you may be, my dear, generous Mr. Feldmann, who, in defiance of all dangers, have reached our miserable prison, accept, I entreat you, our warmest, our sincerest acknowledgments for all you have done. As M. de la Fayette has been obliged to give his word not to write to any one out of the prison, he regrets exceedingly that he is thus deprived of the pleasure of expressing, himself, the sensations the receipt of your letter created, and has charged me, on the part of himself and his daughters, to assure you of our gratitude, and never failing attachment. NOAILLES LA FAYETTE."*

Madame de la Fayette, on putting her reply into the hands of the surgeon, who, while she was preparing it, was engaged, on some pretence for delay,

* General La Fayette is with us, and will not only confirm what I have stated here, but will assure all who inquire, that in my four successive journeys to Olmutz, I received more than thirty letters from Madame de la Fayette, written *from her prison*, in 1796 and 1797.

with the General, endeavoured to ascertain from the doctor, whether this Feldmann was tall or short, stout or slender, with other particulars of his exterior, in order to discover, if possible, who it could be; but as the doctor had not seen me yet, he could not gratify her curiosity.

The flute of Felix Pontonnier, who had received permission to visit his master, was soon heard by Messrs. Latour Maubourg and Bureau de Puzy, giving notice of the happy arrival of a friend. Let the reader for a moment imagine himself in the situation of these unhappy prisoners, and he will easily conceive the joy and surprise they experienced.

Very early in the morning, my faithful servant, on pretence of cleaning my carriage, opened the coach-house, and got out all the packets, letters, money, &c., without being perceived by any one belonging to the house, and brought them safely to my chamber. I dined this day, by invitation, with Hirsch, where I met several strangers, to whom the banker introduced me, as his old and worthy friend the Baron de Feldmann.* Kreutschke presently arrived with the reply of Madame de la Fayette to my note, for Hirsch had told him the particulars and purposes of my journey, without letting him know, however, exactly who I was.

* Hirsch absolutely insisted upon giving me this ridiculous title, contrary to my republican opinions and engagements.

I leave the reader to conceive my sensations on the receipt of this information, and my impatience to read what a lady, whose high and exalted virtues I so much revered, had sent me in reply to my note. Hirsch gave me the paper secretly, so that no one observed him, and told me besides, how M. and Madame de la Fayette had interrogated the surgeon respecting my exterior, and how curious they were to know who this Mr. Feldmann could possibly be. Under the pretence of calling a servant, I arose, and went into an adjoining room; where I no sooner found myself alone, than, full of impatience and joy, I opened the precious note, and perused and re-perused it again and again. I at last endeavoured to control my feelings, and concealing the paper with the utmost care, I returned to the parlour, and told Mr. Hirsch that it was absolutely necessary for the surgeon to devise some pretext for seeing the prisoners again in the course of that day, adding, that he might offer him, from me, a purse of one hundred ducats, as a reward for his zeal and fidelity, and as a proof that my friends and myself were very well satisfied with what he had done.*

* I believe I have already mentioned that I had full powers to dispose entirely of the very ample funds of which I was the bearer, as well as of those which Hirsch had previously received from the generous Americans, through the hands of their consul at Hamburg; not directly, but first from Sieveking, at Hamburg, and then from the Vienna banker, Oxs Geymüller, on whom I had an-

On the previous evening, Hirsch and myself had agreed on the propriety of my conversing as little as possible with the friends of the prisoners whom I might meet in public, or at the house of the banker, in order to avoid, as much as possible, the suspicions of the police. As I spoke German altogether, nobody questioned my disguise, and I remained ten days at Olmutz, unsuspected and undisturbed.

The hundred ducats produced their effect. The surgeon promised to visit the prisoners along with the jailer at two o'clock, the hour when their food was given to them, and told Hirsch that I must have all my papers in readiness. After breakfast I feigned some slight indisposition, the effect, as I pretended, of my journey; and, according to my arrangements with Hirsch, I went to my lodgings, where I told my servants that I intended to shut myself up in my room to sleep, and was not at home to any one but Hirsch, who would probably call about one o'clock. As my packets were too bulky to send all at once, I was obliged to divide them into three parcels, and first to prepare the one which was most interesting, in which I enclosed my actual name, accompanied by the request, that it should not be mentioned in any of the letters that Madame de la Fayette might do me the honour to write.

other large letter of credit. These gentlemen were accountable to me for the funds in their hands.

Hirsch knocked at my door at the hour agreed upon, and I put into his hands the first of the parcels, carefully folded and sealed, but without superscription. In a long letter to Madame de la Fayette, I acquainted her with my intention to attempt the rescue of her husband, unless I were forbidden by the danger of destroying herself and her children; it being impossible to carry away the whole four. I assured her, that I was resolved to undergo all possible hazards, and only waited for their determination to act: but added, that two or three days, at least, should be devoted to deliberate reflection, before any thing decisive was attempted. I then informed her of the mode we had adopted to conduct the correspondence, and the fictitious names and situations in life of her new friends in Hamburg. In this packet I enclosed several sheets of very fine paper, with pens and pencils, &c. &c. and added a square of excellent chocolate, of which I had provided an abundant supply before I set out on my journey. This I requested Mr. Hirsch to give to the surgeon, for Madame de la Fayette, along with the packet, and to tell him that every day he was to send her another.

Hirsch, at the sight of the packet, drew back a few steps with surprise at the size of it. But I soon persuaded him to join his exertions with the surgeon's, to effect its conveyance; advising him, at the same time, not to give Kreutschke the hundred ducats until I had received a reply from Madame de la Fayette, acknowledging the safe reception of the packet with all

its contents, as I had described them. The promise of the gold, no doubt, quickened the invention and zeal of the doctor, who resorted to the following expedient. A few minutes before two o'clock he went to the house of the jailer, whose wife was preparing the prisoners' food. I have already said that Kreutschke was very much liked by the soldiers and inhabitants generally, on account of his kind disposition, and benevolent feelings. When he told the jailer, therefore, that he was going to examine personally the diet of the prisoners, particularly Madame de la Fayette's, and that he wished to ascertain whether her appetite had returned, no difficulty was made, and he went in along with the jailer. The officer of the guard expressed no surprise at this second visit, for the doctor, who knew him intimately, told him the same thing he had already told the jailer, and taking him apart, he gave him to understand that it was quite unnecessary to put down this visit in the daily report he made to the Governor, as the officer did not generally think it necessary to make a note of his visits. He invited him, at the same time, to dine with him the next day, and the whole affair was arranged in the following manner.

As the guard stood before the door of La Fayette's cell, in the manner described in the tenth chapter, there were too many eyes upon the doctor to allow him to pass to the General the two packets without being perceived; he therefore, after feeling the pulses

of M. and Madame de la Fayette, threw his eyes around him in all directions, as if to remark the moisture which every where oozed through the walls of their subterraneous prison, and then opened the door of an adjoining apartment, which was occupied by his daughters; and while the jailer was engaged in arranging the table, and stood with his back turned towards them, the surgeon made signs to Madame de la Fayette that he was going to hide something away for her. M. and Madame de la Fayette, who, as well as their daughters, began to suspect something unusual, watched him unobserved, and followed all his movements without leaving their places. The guards could not possibly perceive what was passing in the apartment belonging to the young ladies, Anastasia and Virginia La Fayette, for it was on the right hand in coming in; whereas the soldiers stood in the middle of the front of the General's prison.

Kreutschke, now entered the young ladies' room, saying aloud, that he wished to see whether the moisture penetrated there, as it did in their father's. Then instantly raising the straw bed, he thrust the two parcels underneath, and returning into the General's prison, he very calmly remarked to the officer of the guard, that the young ladies' room was not quite so moist as the other.

Madame de la Fayette, whose sight was as quick as her imagination was lively, changed colour on

seeing the doctor's manœuvres with these two packets; but Kreustchke made signs, and she soon recovered her composure. M. de la Fayette and his two daughters had observed all that passed, but did not so plainly betray their sensations, as Madame de la Fayette, whose control, nevertheless, over her excitable imagination, cannot be sufficiently admired; particularly, as she was weakened by her sufferings, and the violent pains of a rheumatism, which, no doubt, occasioned her premature death, so deeply lamented by all her acquaintance. In the course of the evening, I saw the banker again, and he gave me an exact account of the doctor's visit, adding, that he would certainly bring me, the next day, a letter from Madame de la Fayette.

In my first journey to Olmutz, I was bearer of letters and packets of such importance, and which required of the prisoners so many precautions, and so much time, that I availed myself of two or three days' leisure and requested Mr. Hirsch, to take me in his carriage to visit the spot where General La Fayette had mounted on horseback behind Bollmann, the barn where he was arrested, and Braunseiffen, where he was delivered up. This journey corresponded perfectly well with the character Mr. Hirsch had given me, of a rich Swedish merchant, who visited Austria and Silesia, for the purpose of purchasing large quantities of linens, and other manufactures of the country, which were

intended to be forwarded to Stockholm, by the way of Hamburg.

I received from Madame de la Fayette, amongst other communications, the result of a family consultation upon my proposition to attempt the liberation of the General, in which they thanked me warmly, for all I had done, and wished to do, but at the same time said, they preferred remaining together in prison, and awaiting tranquilly the result, than to endanger, for the welfare of one member, the happiness of the whole family; that the General had strongly opposed my proposition, "because," said he "when Messrs. Bollmann and Huger made the attempt to liberate me, I was alone; of course, no one was exposed on my account; but now, my escape must necessarily involve the safety of Madame de la Fayette, and our daughters."

I could not but yield to the force of these arguments, nor help expressing to Madame de la Fayette my admiration of the heroism and noble disinterestedness of the General. In another letter, she enclosed me an introduction to Professor Passy, whom she requested me to visit, and of whom she spoke in the highest terms. I accordingly went to see the professor almost every evening in the week; but for fear of exciting suspicion, he never came to my lodgings, nor to the house of Mr. Hirsch, except in the day time. In the tenth, eleventh,

and twelfth chapters, I have given an account of this estimable man, and of his lamentable fate.

Mr. Hirsch, to oblige me, accompanied me to the road from Troppau to Braunseiffen. We arrived at Mr. Richter's, the Mayor, who was a wealthy linen manufacturer in this little borough, and occupied the fatal house where La Fayette was delivered again to the jailers of Olmutz. Mr. Hirsch was the godfather and intimate friend of Mr. Richter, so that we were received with open arms. I was introduced as a Swedish merchant, who wished to give orders for goods, and see the patterns, &c. Hirsch had, on the road, given me a favourable account of the Mayor, and requested permission to relate every thing to him, as he might be of the greatest service to us; "but," added he, "we will not tell him immediately who you are. You shall see I will direct the conversation to the subject of La Fayette, so that he, not doubting but that you are friendly to the General, will converse with all the openness of a warm and generous heart."

At dinner was present the farmer who had, two years before, arrested the General and Bollmann, in his capacity of sergeant of the guard, at the barn. Here I was told many interesting anecdotes respecting La Fayette and his friends, which I shall detail at length in a second edition. After a stay of two days with the family of the Mayor, I returned with the banker to Olmutz.

CHAPTER XVI.

Liberation of the prisoners from Olmutz. Their meeting with Madame de Maubourg and Madame Bureau de Puzy. Their arrival at Hamburg—Residence in Holstein—Return to France.

As these memoirs have already passed the limits we had prescribed, and as the author is no less impatient than the publisher, that this imperfect sketch may be ready to be presented to General La Fayette on his return to this city, the reader will allow me, I hope, to abridge the mass of new and interesting details I had proposed to publish in this edition of the present work.

The detailed descriptions which I have given from the ninth to the fourteenth chapters inclusive, are to be found neither in Ségur, nor the Edinburgh Review, nor the Letters of Lady Morgan, nor the New Annual Register, nor the Mémoires pour servir à la vie du Général La Fayette, by Regnault-Warin, Paris, 1824, a work which I have just received from France, nor, in short, in any of the numerous publications which profess to give an account of his life. This fact must be sufficient to convince the public that I

have it in my power to communicate many other details respecting La Fayette and his companions, and that I might augment threefold the size of this book, if the reasons I have mentioned above, did not imperiously compel me to abridge it.

If, however, I am fortunate enough to meet from the public a favourable reception, and an encouragement to proceed to a second edition, I shall give them very ample, new and interesting details, drawn from my journeys and adventures, as well as from those of Victor Latour Maubourg, Louis Romœuff, Madame de Maubourg, and Madame Bureau de Puzy. I should also enter more fully into the particulars of the journey I made in 1797, from Olmutz to Hamburg, in company with the families of the prisoners, after their enlargement, of their residence in Holstein, of their return to France, and of their private life; and might add a great number of anecdotes hitherto unknown, respecting all the members of the numerous family of General La Fayette. This I would be the better enabled to do, as the General himself, when I took leave of him in New-York, previous to his departure for Boston, with very great kindness, declared, "that he hoped (I repeat his very words) on his return to New-York, that he would be able to talk more at large, with his good friend Feldmann, on a variety of subjects." I shall embrace that opportunity to make many inquiries with regard to circumstances, which, in consequence of our long

separation (since, 1810,) have more or less vanished from my memory.

The three prisoners of Olmutz owe their liberation exclusively to the esteem and regard in which they were held by Napoleon Bonaparte, at that time General-in-Chief of the army of Italy. The Directory had made very feeble efforts indeed, to effect their restoration to liberty, and that for reasons already assigned. But Bonaparte, by the advice of Major General Berthier, who highly esteemed La Fayette, resolutely insisted, at the treaty of Campo-Formio, which was preceded by the negotiation of Léoben and Udine, that, as an indispensable preliminary, the prisoners of Olmutz should be immediately released from confinement.

Conformably to the previous stipulations at Léoben, the victorious French troops entirely evacuated the Austrian territory in Tyrol, Carinthia, &c. Bonaparte went further still, and, desirous of evincing his confidence in the Austrian Emperor, he delivered into the power of the officers of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the city and fortifications of Leghorn. But he repeated daily his inquiries of the Austrian commissioners, Cobentzel, Mervelt, Degelmann, and the celebrated Marquis de Gallo, Neapolitan ambassador at Vienna, in whom the Emperor had the fullest confidence, "whether the prisoners at Olmutz were free or not?" and when the commissioners hesitatingly replied, that they believed they were, but that

they were not certain, he angrily dissolved the session, saying, "gentlemen, you may take my word, that if these prisoners are not instantly set free, I sign no treaty of peace with his Imperial Majesty."

This firmness on the part of the young and victorious French General, threw the commissioners into great embarrassment; and courier after courier was despatched to Vienna, to hasten the liberation of the Olmutz prisoners. The Baron de Thugut, and the Count de Saurau, enraged at the thoughts of losing their prey, made every attempt to delay their enlargement under various pretexts; and as the feeble Francis II. had no will of his own, these two ministers would have undoubtedly triumphed, unless General Bonaparte had sent Colonel Louis Romœuff, one of the former aids de camp of General La Fayette, to Vienna, to demand from the Emperor explicitly the immediate liberation of the prisoners, with an accompanying threat, that unless they were freed in one month from the date of the demand, he would march with his whole army to the capital, and throw open their prison himself.*

The Directory was too much engaged by the dissentions and intrigues which divided the interior as well as the legislative body, to attend to the situation

* In the second edition we propose to give a more detailed narrative of this journey of Romœuff, and the progress of this negotiation, of which, in consequence of our presence at the time, we can furnish a very exact and authentic account.

of the three prisoners at Olmutz, and merely issued instructions to Generals Bonaparte and Moreau, to claim their restoration, as soon as the occasion arrived.

At length, on the 25th of August, 1797, the prisoners were restored to their rights and their liberties, and on the seventeenth of October succeeding, General Bonaparte signed, near Udine, the articles of peace, known under the name of the treaty of Campo-Formio.

We shall not now detain the reader, by describing the affecting scenes which occurred at our first interview, and that particularly between the three friends, La Fayette, Maubourg, and Puzy, and Madame de la Fayette and her daughters. The imprisonment of the three first, had now reached the term of five years, and that of the latter, twenty-two months, during which period their confinement had only been interrupted by the daily visit they made to the dungeon of their illustrious parent.

The Marquis de Chasteler, had been commissioned by the emperor, to take charge of this negotiation. Its nature may be sufficiently understood by the following declarations, which were made to him in reply by General La Fayette:

"The commission, with the execution of which Lieutenant General the Marquis de Chasteler, has been charged, seems to me to resolve itself into the consideration of three points: 1st. His imperial ma-

jesty requires an authenticated statement of our exact situation. I am not disposed, at present, to complain of my grievances. Several representations, however, on this subject, may be found in the letters of my wife, transmitted or sent back by the Austrian government; and if his majesty is not satisfied by the perusal of the instructions sent, in his name, from Vienna, I will cheerfully communicate to M. de Chasteler all the information he can possibly desire.

"2d. His majesty the Emperor and King, is desirous of obtaining an assurance, that upon my liberation, I shall immediately leave Europe for America. This has been often my desire and my intention; but as my consent, at this moment, to his majesty's request, would constitute an acknowledgment of his right to impose such a condition, I do not feel disposed to comply with this demand.

"3d. His majesty, the Emperor and King, has graciously done me the honour to signify, that inasmuch as the principles I profess are incompatible with the safety of the Austrian government, he cannot consent to allow me to enter his territories again without his special permission. To this I have only to reply, that there already exist antecedent obligations of which I cannot possibly devest myself, partly towards America, but mostly towards France; and I cannot engage to do any thing which might interfere with the rights of my country to my personal services. With these exceptions, I can assure the

Marquis de Chasteler, that my invariable resolution is, not to set my foot upon any territory under the dominion of his majesty the King of Bohemia and Hungary."

Messrs. Maubourg and Puzy made similar declarations, and the three prisoners signed in consequence the following engagement :

" The undersigned engages towards his majesty the Emperor and King, not to enter, at any time whatever, his hereditary provinces, without having first obtained his special permission ; it being always understood that the rights of the undersigned's country over his person are explicitly reserved and retained."

On arriving at Hamburg, Messrs. Parish, Morris, and a great number of other distinguished Americans, gave us a very splendid and magnificent entertainment on board of an elegant American ship, which lay at anchor in the harbour of the town. These gentlemen had previously sent several large barges, superbly decorated and manned with American seamen, to meet us at Haarburg, a town on the left bank of the Elbe, immediately opposite to Hamburg.

Through the attention of Messrs. Parish, Masson, Archenholtz, Sieveking, &c. lodgings had been secured and prepared for us all ; and the next day M. Reinhardt, the French minister, gave us an elegant entertainment, at which the prisoners made their appearance with the tri-coloured cockade, which they had mounted on the day of their arrival on the neutral

territory of Hamburg, in order to show that they were not emigrants, nor indeed, had ever ceased to be Frenchmen and patriots.

It was here I enjoyed the pleasure of embracing my respected father, who had hastened to meet me, and to pay his tribute of respect to the illustrious prisoners. I had sent, when at Dresden, my servant with letters of invitation from these gentlemen, and from Madame de la Fayette, and entreating him to participate in the happiness of his son, who was now received into the bosom of their family.

While they were still in the neighbourhood of Altona, George Washington La Fayette arrived from Mount Vernon, and the affecting scenes which this event gave rise to, we leave to the imagination of the reader.

They remained but a few days at Hamburg, and then accepted the invitation of a Hanoverian Baron, who begged them to spend some time at the elegant chateau of Lehmkuhlen, near Eutin, in Holstein. It was here that the marriage of Mlle. Anastasia, eldest daughter of General La Fayette, with M. Charles de Latour-Maubourg,* the prisoner's brother, was celebrated in that simple unostentious style, which M. and Madame de la Fayette, on all occasions, pre-

* Mr. M. Regnault-Warin is mistaken, when he says, in his *Memoires pour sevir à la vie du Gen. La Fayette*, vol. i. p. 284, that this marriage was solemnized at the Chateau de Kiel.

ferred. The General at this chateau received from a gentleman in London, in the name of his two sisters, a legacy bequeathed by them to La Fayette, to the amount of 4000 pounds sterling, which reverted, in case of the General's death, to his widow and his children.

On leaving the chateau of Lehmkuhlen, the prisoners and their families divided into separate parties. The General, his lady, his son-in-law, and his two daughters, then went to reside at the romantic retreat of Wettmoldt, a chateau, which the count de Tessé, (who had married the sister of Madame de la Fayette's mother,) purchased shortly after his emigration. While the General and his family remained at Wettmoldt, I visited them three or four times in company with my father.

General La Fayette used frequently to dispute with his uncle, who was a nobleman of the old school, and Grand Cordon of the order of St. Esprit, and never omitted to wear the badge on holidays and Sundays. It was really an amusing and interesting spectacle, to see the *ancien régime* in the person of this venerable old man, engaged in contest with the constitutional, patriotic, and republican principles of General La Fayette, who came off uniformly triumphant, not only because his subject was that of liberty and reason, but because he attacked the unmeaning exclamations of his uncle,

with irrefragable arguments. After they had exhausted themselves in the controversy, they broke into a hearty laugh, shook hands, and were then again the best friends in the world.

It was in this delightful retreat, that General La Fayette resumed his old business, as he told me himself at the time, the life and occupation of a peasant. He studied with great care the agriculture of Holstein, and particularly the best modes of raising cattle, in which the inhabitants of Holstein especially excelled. His attention was, above all, directed to the breeding of Merino sheep, in which, several years after, at La Grange, his country seat near Paris, he showed very great skill and ability.

General Maubourg, his friend and companion in misfortune, had fixed his residence, with all his family, in the small town of Plön, three miles from the chateau of Wettmoldt, where he lived in philosophical retirement. All the Holstein nobility rendered to these two objects of ministerial tyranny, the most unequivocal testimonials of regard and respect. Among these, was particularly distinguished the Danish chamberlain, Augustus Hennings, prefect (*bailli*) of Plön. Archenholtz and he were friends, rival authors and journalists of great reputation, and warm admirers of General La Fayette, his family, and companions. They both directed their bold and animated eloquence against the Prussian and Austrian cabinets, and they both left behind them (for they died long ago) the sincerest regrets of us all.

Mr. Bureau de Puzy, who, in 1796, as we have stated before, refused to leave his prison without his companions, accompanied us on the journey from Olmutz to Hamburg. He proceeded to Altona, where he was joined by his father-in-law, Mr. Dupont de Nemours, and Madame de Nemours, his wife's mother. They embarked together for New-York, where they were received with the greatest cordiality, as well on account of their personal merit, as because Mr. de Puzy had been the companion and intimate friend of General La Fayette. As he was consummately skilled in the science of engineering, he was invited to superintend the public works erecting in defence of New-York. He, however, with great delicacy declined the appointment until he had obtained the consent of the government of France. As soon as the First Consul was made acquainted with this fact, he immediately recalled him, and appointed him successively, officer, then commander of the Legion of Honour, Prefect of the departments of l'Allier, Rhone and Genoa, at which latter place he died, too soon for his friends and his country, on the second of February, 1806.

La Fayette and Latour Maubourg led a very peaceful and happy life, at their respective retreats in Holstein, and shortly after the affair of the 18th of Brumaire, returned to France, after having spent a short time in Holland.

CHAPTER XVII.

La Fayette, under the government of Napoleon: His son, George Washington la Fayette. Death of Madame de la Fayette. Unfortunate accident which happened to the General. Different resolutions offered by La Fayette in the chamber of representatives.

As soon as General La Fayette, heard of the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, he returned with M. de Latour Maubourg to France, and went instantly to Paris. In common with all good men, he saw and hailed the prospect of the restoration of better and sounder politics. He respected the young hero who had evinced so much interest in his welfare; and felt extremely grateful for all that had been done for him while in prison. He did not forget that it was to General Bonaparte, and to the energetic measures he had adopted, that he owed his liberty. Bonaparte had already saved France. It was now necessary, in order to establish the new state of things upon a solid and brilliant basis, to attract around him all the talents and worth of

the country. La Fayette was among the rest invited to the Tuilleries. The First Consul soon saw that this veteran of two revolutions entertained opinions wholly at variance with his own, and that a character like his would not readily yield to the yoke of absolute monarchy; and after the first interview, which took place under auspices favourable to both parties, there began to be, on each side, a gradual diminution of regard. The First Consul, however, still retained him as general of the division, and wished to raise him to a higher rank, by tendering him subsequently the office of Senator, which his friends strongly urged him to accept; but he declined, and wrote to the Minister of war, as follows: "Associated, from their commencement, with the institutions which have triumphed in Europe; united in heart to the generals of the republic; I have never ceased to be their companion, and I cannot pretend to aspire, after so many victories which they have achieved, to become their successful competitor."

These few words strongly depict the disinterested and noble sentiments of La Fayette, who refused a salary of 36,000 livres, as senator, and from 12 to 18,000 more, as a count of the empire, after he had lost his immense fortune, and was now scarcely able to realise an income of 10,000 franks a year, though he formerly possessed 200,000.

But La Fayette appeared in a still more exalted

light, when the question of electing Bonaparte consul for life, was under discussion. Shortly before this event, he had a remarkable interview with the First Consul, who invited La Fayette expressly to meet him at the Tuilleries. When he appeared, Bonaparte ordered every one to retire, and received him alone in his cabinet. They conversed upon the constitution, and the happiness of the people, and at length the consul attempted to sound him upon the proposed nomination. "General," said La Fayette to him, without hesitation, "before venturing upon such a step, France, and her best subjects, expect of you a guaranty of their liberties. As soon as they are satisfied on this score, they will comply with your wishes unasked." From that time forward, Bonaparte and La Fayette became irreconcilably opposed to each other.

His vote was expressed in the following terms:

"I cannot vote for such a magistracy, until the liberties of the people are secured: in that case, I vote for Napoleon Bonaparte."

He wrote, at the same time, to the First Consul, as follows:

"General,

"When a man, who is deeply impressed with a sense of the gratitude he owes you, and who is too ardent a lover of glory to be wholly indifferent to yours, connects his suffrage with conditional restric-

tions, those restrictions not only secure him from suspicion, but prove amply, that no one will, more gladly than himself, behold in you the chief magistrate, for life, of a free and independent republic.

"The eighteenth of Brumaire saved France from destruction: and I felt myself reassured and recalled by the liberal declarations to which you have connected the sanction of your honour. In your consular authority, there was afterwards discerned that salutary dictatorial prerogative, which, under the auspices of a genius like yours, accomplished such glorious purposes; yet, less glorious, let me add, than the restoration of liberty would prove.

"It is not possible, General, that you, the first amidst that order of mankind, which surveys every age and every country, before the stations of its members in the scale can be determined, that you can desire that a revolution, marked by an unexampled series of stupendous victories and unheard of sufferings, shall give nothing to the world but a renovated system of arbitrary government. The people of this country have been acquainted with their rights too long, to forget them for ever: but perhaps they may recover, and enjoy them better now, than during the period of revolutionary effervescence. And you, by the strength of your character, and the influence of public confidence, by the superiority of your talents, your power, and your fortunes, in re-establishing the

liberties of France, can allay all agitations, calm all anxieties, and subdue all dangers.

"When I wish, then, to see the career of your glory crowned by the honours of perpetual magistracy, I but act in correspondence with my own private sentiments, and am influenced exclusively by patriotic considerations. But all my political and moral obligations, the principles that have governed every action of my life, call on me to pause, before I bestow on you my suffrage, until I feel assured that your authority shall be erected on a basis worthy of the nation and yourself.

"I confidently trust, General, that you will recognise here, as you have done on all other occasions, a steady continuance of my political opinions, combined with the sincerest prayers for your welfare, and the deepest sense of all my obligations towards you."

It is easy to recognise, in the language of this letter, a man whose principles have never deviated for a moment, and who, in defiance of what was termed legitimate authority, as well as under all the pressure of arbitrary tyranny, braved its menaces, and resisted its encroachments. It must be admitted, that such conscientious firmness of purpose is exceedingly rare; and we are particularly bound to admire it, when it involves consequences of serious danger. In this point of view, La Fayette deserves

the highest applause ; for, at all times, and under all circumstances, he continued true to his political professions, and faithful to his country's interests.

This letter was never answered, and La Fayette did not see the First Consul again, until the third of June, 1815. At the opening of the chamber of representatives, he and his son attended as deputies, the former from the department de la Haute Loire, and the latter from Seine and Marne.

This only and beloved son, George Washington La Fayette, served from the commencement of the war in 1800, as one of the *guides d'honneur* to the guards of the First Consul, and armed and equipped himself at his own expense, and never consented to receive any pay. General Grouchy appointed him his aid de camp, as he was extremely intelligent, brave, and active, and an officer of great merit, distinguishing himself on various occasions. After the rupture between La Fayette and the First Consul, the latter extended his resentment to all attached to the family of La Fayette. Mr. George La Fayette, De Lasteyrie, husband of Virginia La Fayette, René Pillet, Louis Romoeuff, former aids de camp of La Fayette, were marked out by Bonaparte, as meriting neither advancement nor distinction. This unworthy treatment did not prevent young La Fayette's continuing his service with great and distinguished activity. When Bona-

parte was made Emperor, he caused it to be insinuated through Prince Neufchatel to George W. La Fayette, that he ought to tender his resignation, under the pretext that he was fatigued with the service. But he nobly replied, "that so long as his country was involved in wars, he should feel himself disgraced by a resignation, and that he should be ashamed even to think of it, while all his companions were daily exposing themselves to dangers of every sort. It was true, he was an American citizen, but he was first of all a Frenchman, and a loyal Frenchman."

Berthier embraced him with delight, and reported his answer to the Emperor. But nothing could move him; for at the battle of Eylau, George had the good fortune twice to save the life of General Grouchy, whose horse had been killed under him in a charge. Grouchy made a brilliant report of his exemplary conduct, and requested a promotion for him, and the cross of the Legion of Honour, but had the mortification to learn that the Emperor petulantly erased the name of George Washington La Fayette from the report, not even permitting his name to appear in the bulletin! The young officer continued in service notwithstanding, and did not retire to La Grange, his paternal residence, until after the ratification of peace at Tilsit. No stronger

proof is wanting, that this only son is worthy of his noble father.

While General La Fayette lived retired at his estate of La Grange, sixteen leagues from Paris, near the small town of Rosay, in the province of Brie, where he devoted himself entirely to agriculture, Madame de la Fayette, who had brought with her from the dungeons of Olmutz the seeds of a fatal disease, was struck with a paralysis, which deprived her of the use of her limbs, and prevented her from moving even from one room to another, except in an easy chair mounted on rollers. Her husband and family, alarmed at her situation, prevailed upon her to return to Paris for medical advice. She reluctantly consented, and often said to the General, "I feel, my dear husband, that my situation is hopeless, and that the best medical advice cannot restore me to health. I should wish, therefore, to die in peace, surrounded by you and my children, in this house of my ancestors,* rather than in the capital; but as you wish it, I will go." She was conveyed to Paris; but no skill could save her.

This striking model of heroism and virtue, died on the 24th of December, 1807, after the most se-

* The estate of La Grange belonged to Madame de la Fayette; it had been sequestered, but was restored under the Directory. All the other estates of the two families, La Fayette and Noailles, (his wife's,) were sold, with the exception of a small farm in Auvergne, of which the General is still in possession.

vere sufferings, which she bore with fortitude, while, at the same time, she endeavoured to conceal them as much as possible from her friends. She expired in the midst of her large family, who in vain poured out their prayers to heaven for her recovery.

She had lost the faculty of speech when I arrived from Montmorency to see her. What a terrible impression this sad spectacle made upon me! Her husband and family were assembled around her bed, and covered their faces, while the dying woman, with a smile playing on her pallid lips, contemplated in silence this heart-rending spectacle. All the ladies on their knees, with their children, stifled their sobs, as they pressed around her couch. Even at this moment, when so many years have glided away, I cannot revive the recollection, without shedding tears to the memory of this innocent victim of the two Austrian tyrants, whose cruelties had shortened her existence. She seemed to recognise me, and gently taking my hand, pressed it, while she attempted to speak, but she could not utter a word, and I hurried out of the room, and never saw her again until she was wrapt in her shroud. Let the feeling reader excuse me from pursuing so painful a subject. I am absolutely unable to write all I feel at this moment, and must lay down my pen to compose myself.

La Fayette's troubles were not yet at an end.

The next winter, after transacting some business with M. Decrès, Minister of the Marine, he left the office about ten o'clock in the evening; a rain having just fallen, which had frozen on the ground, and as the General had left his carriage two hundred paces off, in walking to it, he had the misfortune to fall and break his leg. He was carried to his carriage, suffering excruciating pain; one of the most skilful surgeons applied to it an apparatus consisting of two wooden splints, firmly bound together, which he was obliged to wear nearly six months, while at the same time he was compelled to keep the same position for fear of deranging the dressings. He was cured at the end of the year, after severe suffering, but he remains lame to this day.

La Fayette continued at his chateau of La Grange, a quiet spectator of political occurrences, and of the restoration of the Bourbons. In 1814, at the period of the restoration, he had only seen the King and Monsieur his brother once; and although well received, he did not return. He quitted his retreat only at the moment that he knew 1,200,000 foreigners were invading his country. It was at this period that King Joseph, brother to the Emperor, proposed to him a meeting, to judge for himself the value of the guaranties that were about to be offered to the French people, and to the world. La Fayette thought it his duty to agree to this proposal, saying, "that he now went with an incredulity which would fully

compensate for his excess of confidence in the year 8." He did not hesitate to declare, that, without believing the complete political conversion of Bonaparte, he thought they might safely rely upon his cordial support, against foreign invasion or influence, or against any family or party who would avail itself of such assistance, in order to attack the independence and liberties of France. He refused the peerage, insisted upon the immediate convocation of the chamber of representatives, and would not enter again into political affairs, unless elected by his countrymen. It will be readily recollected, that the truly liberal doctrines of the freedom of the press, and the re-establishment of popular elections, characterized this period. La Fayette entered his protest in his department, and to the college of electors of Seine and Marne, against the articles of the constitutions of the empire, and of the additional act which conspired against the sovereignty of the people, and the rights of each individual; but this did not hinder the college of the department from electing him its president and first deputy.

In 1814, a libel on La Fayette* issued from one of the imperial presses, a false and calumnious work, which reflected no honour on its author, a servant of the late king; but notwithstanding the numberless animadversions which were showered upon him, the

* The pamphlet containing it was entitled, "*Last Moments of the Life of Louis XVI,*" by Hué, his first valet de chambre.

General and his friends were not prevented from declaring, on the landing of Napoleon, that in every measure which promoted the liberty of France, they would lend the princes all the aid in their power. The Emperor never could reckon him, for one moment, among those who reposed their hopes upon him. Placed first in his list of peers, La Fayette declared he could not accept the nomination; but if the government convoked a regular national representation, he should think he owed it to the imminent dangers of his country, and to the election of the people, to take part again in public affairs. His independence and his want of faith in Napoleon, were preserved, notwithstanding the urgent advances of the latter; and he resolutely refused to go near him till after his final abdication.

Notwithstanding all Bonaparte's efforts to procure the nomination of one of the four presidents of the departments of the council of state, Merlin De Douay, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, Defermont and Boulay de la Meurthe, as president of the Chamber, the voices were divided between Lenjuinais, La Fayette, and Flangergues. After two ballots, the votes inclined in favour of Lenjuinais, and although the ministers and council of state, who preferred La Fayette, spread a false report that Napoleon disliked Lenjuinais, he was, notwithstanding, recognised as president, and La Fayette as Vice President of the Chamber of Representatives, by Napoleon, in consequence of the intrepid counsels of Carnot.

After the battle of Waterloo, when the Emperor attempted to prorogue the House, and proclaim himself dictator, La Fayette was present at the meeting of the 21st of June, 1815, and made the following observations, with all his usual energy :

" When, for the first time for many years, I raise my voice, which the old friends of liberty will recognise again, I feel myself compelled to address you, gentlemen, on the imminent danger of the country, which you alone are able to prevent.

" Sinister rumours have been circulated, and are now unhappily confirmed. Now is the time to rally around the old tricoloured standard of '89, of liberty, of equality, and of public order; it is this alone which we are bound to defend against foreign pretensions, and domestic factions. Allow a veteran in this holy cause, who has been always an enemy to the spirit of dissention, to submit the following preliminary resolutions, of which I hope you will admit the necessity.

" Article 1. The Chamber of Representatives declare that the independence of the nation is endangered.

" Article 2. The Chamber declare themselves in continued session; that every attempt to prorogue the session shall be considered high treason; that any one guilty of such attempt shall be deemed a traitor to his country, and be instantly proceeded against as such.

" Article 3. The army of the line and the national

guards, who have fought and are still fighting for the independence of France, deserve the gratitude of their country.

"Article 4. The Minister of the Interior is requested to assemble the General Staff, the commandants and Majors of the Legion of the National Guard of Paris, to consult on the means of supplying them with arms, and to render complete this citizen guard, whose patriotism and zeal, having been proved for twenty-five years, offer a sure guaranty of the liberty, the property, and the tranquillity of the capital, and of the invioliability of the representatives of the nation.

"Article 5. The Ministers of War, those of Foreign Relations, of the Interior, and of the Police, are invited to attend the Assembly immediately."

Yet it was La Fayette, the resolute and determined foe to arbitrary power, who demanded in the Assembly that the liberty and life of Napoleon should be put under the protection of the French people.

La Fayette was on the embassy commissioned to ask of the allied powers a suspension of hostilities. On their refusal, he returned to the Capital, and found to his great regret, that the city had capitulated, and that the army was withdrawn. On the 6th of July, he spoke to the Assembly of the conferences of Haguenau, and of the patriotic sentiments of the departments through which he had passed, which he declared were conformable to those of the famous manifesto of the preceeding evening, to which he personally adhered.

On the 8th of July, finding the doors of the Assembly closed, he received at his own house a great number of the deputies, and went with them to the president's, to testify to this exclusion; and to sign the *procès verbal.* After having done every thing that a citizen in his circumstances could be called upon to do, he returned a second time to the bosom of his family at La Grange, where we shall follow him for a few moments.

CHAPTER XVIII.

La Fayette at La Grange, in the bosom of his family.

Many distinguished and celebrated men, after performing prominent parts upon the great theatre of the world, have escaped from the turbulence and toil of a political life, to the bosom of domestic retirement. But very few, indeed, among them all, have left the public arena under circumstances so honourable to themselves as General La Fayette.

The great majority of them, wearied, deceived, disgusted, or disgraced, have retired against their will, because there no longer remained any other alternative. But La Fayette left cheerfully and willingly the turmoil of public affairs, and sought refuge in a quiet retreat, about fifty miles from Paris, remote from great highways and populous cities, to live like the patriarchs of old, in the bosom of a fond and affectionate family. It is generally known, that he had lost the whole of his great fortune; but that he had it at his option to pursue a new career, more brilliant and more lucrative, perhaps, than that of which he had been deprived. Nobody is ignorant, that the

extraordinary man who held the destinies of France in his hands, at the time of the return of La Fayette, esteemed and distinguished him by many marks of his regard, and made him offers, which, had he accepted them, would have led him to the pinnacle of grandeur and wealth. But by doing so, La Fayette would have made himself an instrument in the hands of Napoleon, to assist him in the subjugation of the liberties of France, and La Fayette did not hesitate an instant. He sacrificed his personal aggrandizement to the welfare of his country, rejected every offer whatever, and preferred the *aurea mediocritas*, and a philosophical and honourable retreat, to the most tempting propositions of the chief magistrate of France! His inclinations, his opinions, and his feelings, confirmed him in the act, and La Fayette continued worthy of himself, resisting, with consistent uniformity, the pressing entreaties of his numerous friends, and the brilliant offers of the government of his country.

He is tenderly loved by his numerous family, who resemble himself closely in the principal traits of his character. Modest, plain, and unassuming, in his general deportment, he has ever been the enemy of parade and ostentation. I have been with him frequently, when he was dressed in his gray coat and round hat, with his cane in his hand, and his grandson walking between us, and have thus gone with him over his farm, adjoining the chateau of La Grange, to

examine and count his flocks of merinoes. I have seen him enter into lively and familiar conversation with the shepherds, go into the sheepfold, look at the diseases of the sheep, and attend to the shearing. On such occasions, he would say to me, "My dear friend, you cannot conceive how much pleasure I enjoy in watching the yearly growth of this fine flock. It was in your country* I first learned the proper management of sheep, and I have here succeeded in crossing the *mestices* with the merinoes. Do you know that each fleece will give me twelve francs, and that I get two shearings every year, &c. &c." His grandson would frequently interrupt him, and ask question after question, first of his grandfather, and then of me, as I generally held one of his hands. His grandfather always took pains to explain whatever the boy could be made to understand, and was never fatigued with answering all the questions he asked. At other times we rambled in his beautiful park, where the children would amuse themselves in sports in which he would often participate himself, setting on the smaller in pursuit of the larger, and cheering and helping them forward as they ran. At other times again we walked over his new plantations, which are now, I presume, of considerable extent; and here he took pleasure in shewing the marshes he had drained, the fields he had cleared and made fertile, and the charming grove

* The reader will recollect that part of my family resided at Holstein.

he had planted, at two gunshots distance from the house. Here, he had set out rows of all sorts of fruit trees and grafted them; there, he had brought streams of water over dry or parched soils; thus every day varying his rural occupations and amusements.

But before we speak of the regular course of life which La Fayette's family lived at La Grange, we ought to make our readers acquainted with the inmates of the chateau. When Madame de la Fayette was living, she and the General occupied separate apartments, with a door of communication.

George Washington La Fayette married, in 1803, Mademoiselle de Tracy, daughter of the Count and senator of that name, who had always belonged to the liberal party. In order to give the reader an idea of the character and merits of this lady, it is sufficient to say, that she was worthy of being the daughter of Madame de la Fayette. She has five children, of which the eldest is a young woman of twenty years of age, and the favourite of her grandfather.

Mademoiselle Anastasie la Fayette, daughter of the General, married, as I have mentioned already, the brother of his companion in misfortune, Mr. Charles Latour Maubourg, who served in the latter campaigns of the war with very great credit and distinction. He united to a cold, yet agreeable exterior, great sensibility, and courage, with very little

ambition. He has always been the most constant resident at La Grange, detesting the capital and its noisy society, and assisting his father-in-law in all the various occupations of the country. I have often accompanied him, in his favourite amusements of shooting and hunting. His family consists of four children, of which two are married, and one of them has two children.

Mademoiselle Virginia la Fayette married M. de Lasteyrie, nephew of the celebrated agriculturalist of the same name, who travelled for a long time through the greater part of Europe, in order to study the best mode of breeding and managing sheep. To him we are indebted for the excellent and well known treatise, *Sur les bêtes à laine de l'Espagne.* M. de Lasteyrie served with his brother-in-law, George, in the campaigns of Jena, Eylau, Friedland, &c. where he greatly distinguished himself. The emperor, who knew that he saw the son-in-law of La Fayette, gave him neither the cross of honour, nor any military advancement; and always erased his name from the list of officers recommended for promotion; and it is known from good authority, that in a fit of anger he exclaimed, "I meet these La Fayettes every where!"

I cannot refrain from relating the following anecdote of Madame de Lasteyrie, when she was con-

fined with her relations in the castle of Olmutz, then about fifteen years of age, since it cannot but give pleasure to the reader. One day, her father, in entering her chamber, observed her standing in a corner with her hands clasped together, and her face turned towards the wall. Her father, whom she did not see, observed her for a moment, but not wishing to interrupt her, withdrew. He several times after noticed her in the same attitude, and asked in the most affectionate manner, if she was unwell; she blushed, and replied in the negative, but gave him no further answer. After repeated questioning from her mother, she at length acknowledged, that she was engaged in praying to God, for the deliverance of the Polish hero, Kosciusko, who was then groaning in Russian fetters, as her father was in those of Austria!

As the General had often spoken, in his family, of his former companion in arms, and detailed many of the curious and noble incidents of his life, the mind of Virginia, who strongly resembles her admirable mother, was filled with enthusiasm for this hero, and her imagination constantly recurred to him, and his achievements, and she prayed to Heaven for his deliverance, though she was not personally acquainted with him.

The General related this incident to me during our journey from Olmutz to Dresden, and I could

not but admire this fine trait of character. The day after our arrival at Dresden, where we remained one day in order to allow Madame de la Fayette, who was weak and indisposed, time to recover from her fatigue, I purchased a full length engraving of Kosciusko, which I designed as a present for this young lady, and took it to General La Fayette's room, where Madame de la Fayette then was. They were both delighted with the idea, and the daughter was immediately called. "Here," said I "Mademoiselle Virginia, is a little present, which I beg you to accept as a slight proof of my friendship ;" at the same time I unrolled the portrait, without allowing her to look at the name. The moment she cast her eyes upon it, she blushed deeply, and threw herself into her mother's arms, exclaiming, "*'Tis Kosciusko! It cannot be any one else.*" As soon as she recovered from her confusion, she accepted the print with a blush, though she never after mentioned the name of Kosciusko without emotion.

Besides the different apartments of the chateau belonging to the four united families, viz. that of the father, son, and two sons-in-law, there is one devoted to M. de Maubourg, the intimate friend and companion of the General, and his lady, and another to General Victor Latour Maubourg, the brother of the last mentioned, who under Louis XVIII. was minister of war, and ambassador to London, and is

now, with a wooden leg, governor of the hotel of the invalids at Paris.*

Two other apartments were constantly reserved for Madame Amelia de Maubourg and Madame de Maisonneuve, sisters of the gallant companion of La Fayette. In the same way, I, myself, had a room in one of the towers, commanding a fine view of the park, appropriated to me whenever I visited La Grange.

The life which these four families lead, of which La Fayette is the patriarchal chief, is one of quiet, peaceable uniformity, peculiarly gratifying to a calm, reflecting mind, which is under no necessity of seeking for noisy, or turbulent pleasures abroad. The coxcomb, or mere man of pleasure, would find himself disagreeably situated at La Grange, and the

* Lady Morgan, in her work, entitled France, page 132, vol. 2, says, "In La Fayette's family was, among others, a venerable great-uncle, the former grand prior of Malta, with hair white as snow, with his dress and order worn as proudly as when he had issued forth at the head of his pious troops, against the Paynim foe, or Christian enemy."

As we do not know of any other great-uncle in the family of La Fayette who could have been a Knight of Malta, than General Victor Latour Maubourg, brother of Charles, and Governor of the Hospital of Invalids at Paris, we shall, in reply to Lady Morgan, state, that he never was a grand prior of the order, but merely a knight. That, being married, long since, to the daughter of the Dutch General Vander Yssel, he was obliged to resign; as the statutes declare that no knight may marry, without the special permission of the Grand Master, and of the Holy Father.

dissatisfaction of its inhabitants, as simple in their manner of living, as in their dress, could not but be mutual. It would be in vain to seek for splendid dresses, jewels, or any of the trappings of worldly vanity at La Grange; the jewels of the La Fayette family are those of the mother of the Gracchi.

Little rural balls are frequently given in the park, in the midst of the honest farmers and peasants of the neighbourhood, and plays are performed daily by both old and young members of the family, in the open air.

Early in the morning, every one is occupied in his own apartment, where a servant brings him coffee, chocolate, or tea; scarcely an individual makes his appearance in the saloon, till ten or eleven o'clock. The utmost quiet and silence reigns throughout the chateau until this time. Then all the families meet together at breakfast, and the delightful prattle of the children is amusingly contrasted with the kind and constant attentions of their parents. Each mother is surrounded by her little ones, the fathers assist in taking care of them, and the grandfather presides over the whole.

After breakfast, each one retires till five o'clock, when dinner is brought up; the families again meet, converse, laugh, sing, and dance, every one amusing himself according to his age and taste.

La Fayette is generally employed in the morning

in attending to his family accounts, answering his numerous letters, and occasionally in reading. His bed-chamber is adjoining his cabinet, which contains a well filled library, and numerous objects, all relative to America. Here, seated at his desk, he can see on his left his whole farm, and his stables, and on his right, the park and a very large elegant lawn, covered with rich grass, which furnishes him with an abundance of excellent hay.

His skill in farming is so great, that he was frequently and highly complimented upon it, by Mr. Fox, during his visit to La Grange.

CONCLUSION.

In the history of the extraordinary events which characterized the two great revolutions of America and France, and which utterly destroyed all established usages, shook the foundations of thrones, and threatened the total ruin of arbitrary power, the name of La Fayette will always occupy a distinguished place.

Nothing but the spirit of party, and the excited passions of his enemies, could have possibly induced them to attack his intentions and his actions, as being selfish, feeble, reprehensible, and even criminal. We must either lament their blindness, or censure their want of generosity, in the acrimony which marked their persecution of a man like La Fayette; a man who had experienced so many misfortunes, and so many extraordinary and unmerited reverses.

We have seen him at the age of nineteen, leaving the lap of opulence, and the abode of pleasure, and tearing himself away from the allurements and at-

tractions of a voluptuous court; we have seen him submit to a separation from a youthful, amiable, and affectionate wife, whom he almost idolized, endowed with every grace and virtue that can adorn the sex, to encounter the fury of the elements, and brave danger and death, in order to join the standard of liberty in a new, and, to him, an unknown world. We have seen him shed his blood in that sacred cause; and, impatient under the idea of not having yet done enough, we have seen him hastily abandon the bed of sickness and of suffering, to devote himself again to the cause of freedom, and again to expose himself to perils and to death.

Every year of the American revolution exhibits the young hero more accomplished, more modest, and more ardent in his attachment. It was for this the American people contended with the warrior in the noblest of rivalships; the one still striving to outdo the other; La Fayette in zeal for America's cause, and America in gratitude for her hero's services.

Two years before the French revolution, La Fayette endeavoured to obtain the suppression of a multitude of abuses, such as the *lettres de cachet*, and the prisons of state. At the same time, he attempted to procure the convocation of the National Assembly, and became the protector of the protestants, and the advocate of the people of colour. In a word,

he was the champion of every thing which was just, and right, and honourable, or in any way suited to the dignity of man.

The revolution saw him president of the Constituent Assembly, Commander-in-chief of the National Guard, and of the armies of France; and, beloved and adored as he was by the people, it only depended on himself to become at once, the arbiter of her laws and the ruler of her destinies. At this moment, he found himself unexpectedly proscribed and persecuted; exposed to hatred and devoted to death, by the very persons he had protected and covered with innumerable benefits. A wandering fugitive, he is next insulted and betrayed, immured in dungeons, and treated as the vilest of criminals.

The Emperor of Austria, and his two worthy satallites, Thugut and Saurau, not content with wreaking their vengeance on him, extended their cruelty and hatred to a woman illustrious in her birth, her virtues, and her misfortunes, who was only released from the prisons of terror to be buried alive with her husband, in the dungeons of despotism. But even this was not enough to glut the insatiate rage of her executioners; her daughters, two young and interesting girls, of 14 and 16 years of age, were made to feel the weight of Austrian barbarity, by being confined with their parents, without being permitted to leave their prisons, or to afford them any consola-

tion, but that of sharing their privations and their sufferings.

I cannot contemplate, without the most painful emotions, the situation of these four august victims of tyranny, shut up within the walls of two narrow, damp, and unhealthy dungeons, deprived of wholesome air and food, and of every convenience of life; sick and suffering, yet tranquil, patient and resigned; and, although their birth, and education, and wealth, had once surrounded them with all the comforts and luxuries of life, now seeking in vain for repose upon their miserable pallets of straw.

La Fayette was at length released, and enjoyed a few moments of happiness, which he owed to the young Hero of Italy; to him whose conduct he was forced to disapprove—who transcended the bounds of virtuous liberty; to him, in a word, who was competent alone to accomplish the glory and happiness of France, had he only been able to govern his passions.

But a heavier blow was still in store for La Fayette. His wife, his best friend, his faithful and heroic companion, adorned with every virtue; pious, modest, generous and faithful; affectionate, yet firm, and gentle, yet resolved; indulgent to others, yet severe towards herself—Madame La Fayette at length sunk under her misfortunes, and was torn from the arms of her husband at an age when she had every reason to expect many years of happiness in store. *

* She died on the 24th December, 1807, in the 47th year of her age.

Two Austrian monsters thus brought to an untimely grave, a woman, who was at once the soul of her numerous family, the support of the poor, the consolation of the afflicted, the ornament of her country, and the honour of her sex.

Reason and philosophy supported La Fayette and his children under their afflictions, and his grandchildren and great grandchildren continue to bless heaven for having preserved his life. La Fayette was ever consistent, and maintained, unimpaired, the dignity of his character, under all reverses of fortune. He at once possessed the confidence of the National Guard, which he established and commanded, and the esteem of the nation, who regarded his conduct as a model of genuine patriotism, at the same time that he obtained the unqualified respect of the friends of liberty, wherever they were found. His talent of gaining all affections, and of uniting all hearts, seemed a peculiar privilege, bestowed on him by nature. His friends and foes equally admired him; the inhabitants of the two worlds respected, and revered him. To a youthful, dignified, and agreeable exterior, he joins manners at once unaffected, popular and attractive. He possessed all that was necessary to commence and to direct the course of a revolution, all the brilliancy of military activity, with all that assured and tranquil courage, so essential at the crisis of public commotions. La Fayette would have been competent to

every thing, if every thing had been conducted openly and honourably, but he abhorred and despised the dark paths of intrigue.

Such is La Fayette, the hero, the legislator, the philosopher. He wished, before he died to see again *the country of his heart;* and that country is at once happy and proud to possess him, and to honour him according to his merits, as mortal was never honoured before. For here, the land of true and genuine liberty, there is no one whose commands can compel the citizens of this free country to prepare illuminations, festivals, and ceremonious parades, as is done by the autocrats of that infamous alliance, the tyrants who reign over nations of slaves. No! what we have lately seen, is a free, spontaneous, and impetuous burst of affection from the hearts of ten millions of grateful freemen, rushing forward impatiently to meet him, and to offer him the purest and most precious homage that a nation can bestow, the homage of the heart, that homage that the impotent sovereigns of Europe would vainly attempt to extort. From one extremity of the union to the other, but one cry is heard, *Welcome La Fayette!* and La Fayette is welcome for ever!

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